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ANGEVIN BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA

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HARVARD STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE LITERATURE
VOLUME VI

ANGEVIN BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA

BY

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD

MY TEACHER AND FRIEND

WHOSE INSPIRATION, PRECEPT, AND COUNSEL

DURING FIFTEEN YEARS

HAVE MADE THIS WORK POSSIBLE

PREFACE

THE following chapters constitute the present stage of a study of mediæval relations between the literatures of the British and Scandinavian countries, begun at Harvard University in 1906 at the suggestion of Professor William Henry Schofield, and continued under his inspiring supervision until his death, June 24, 1920. A preliminary summary may be found in a thesis presented at Harvard University in 1908, in part fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and now deposited in the Harvard College Library. Three years of graduate study at Harvard, 1905–1908, were followed by two years of research, 1908–1910, in the libraries of the Scandinavian countries as Travelling Fellow. The years 1910–1912 as instructor at Harvard, and 1912–1921 as secretary of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, have not furnished leisure abundant for further investigation, but for such golden hours as gods, faculties, or trustees have given, the writer is profoundly grateful. In any case an incomplete guide-book in strange territory is better than none at all. The author's debt to his more learned friends, American, English, and Scandinavian, who have helped him in his various essays into history and literature, is obvious. Especially

large is his gratitude to the Librarians of the Universities of Harvard, Christiania, Copenhagen, and Uppsala, and the Royal Libraries in Copenhagen and Stockholm; to Halldór Hermannsson, Curator of the Fiske Collection, Cornell University, Professor F. N. Robinson of Harvard, Rektor Henrik Schück of Uppsala, Professor Gustaf Cederschiöld of Göteborg; the late Professor Moltke Moe, Professor Alexander Bugge, and Professor Knut Liestöl of Christiania; the late Professor Axel Olrik, Professor Finnur Jónsson, Professor Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup, Dr. Ellen Jorgensen, Dr. Gudmund Schütte, and particularly to the late Dr. Kristian Kålund, Curator of the Arnamagnean Collection, of Copenhagen.

The book in its final stage is an attempt to carry out the instructions of the General Editor, who read through the entire manuscript before his last illness, and desired this work, as far as possible, to conform to his high standard of combined essay and monograph. The revision, during Mr. Schofield's illness, was undertaken by my friend Mr. Roger S. Loomis (A.M. Harvard, B. Litt., Oxon.), who assumed responsibility for the control of facts, weeded out errors, supplied gaps, abridged, and rounded off rough edges with literary skill and sound scholarship. The office of publisher's reader, left vacant by Mr. Schofield's

death, luckily was assumed by Professor George Lyman Kittredge of Harvard University, and in his hands, like all manuscripts read by this master scholar, this book has acquired further merit. Also, I wish to thank Professor William Witherle Lawrence of Columbia University, who has read the proofs in the light of the theories advanced and made valuable suggestions.

In a work of this compass it is impossible to maintain proportionate treatment. While some chapters are based almost entirely upon first-hand study of original sources, other chapters which lie outside the Angevin period, such as those on the Scandinavian settlement of Britain and on Epic Survivals, are necessarily rapid surveys of results obtained by specialists in pre-Conquest history and literature. The chapter on Books of Instruction, also, falling outside the main subject of this study, the development of romantic narrative, professes to be only a summary of secondary materials. It is my hope that any disappointment readers may feel in these chapters may be balanced by the fuller treatment of romance, ballad, pseudo-history, and saga which is only thus made possible.

H. G. L.

Harvard College Library,
July 1, 1921.

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ANGEVIN BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA

CHAPTER I

The Scandinavian Settlement of Britain

> In those days was the same language in England as in Norway and Denmark; but the speech changed when William the Bastard conquered England.
>
> *Gunnlaugs Saga*

THE temperamental affinities of the English and Scandinavian races — their individualism, their hardihood, their enterprise — have roots very deep in the past.* For the Anglo-Saxon race, while speaking a language closely related to German, nevertheless possesses a deep infusion of blood from the North. Three times the island of Britain was overrun by men from the Danish peninsula and Norway. While most of us recognize the Scandinavian origin of Danes and Normans, we have not so generally recognized that the Angles and Jutes were also Scandinavian in origin. But evidence has accumulated to show that they too had their home for centuries in Denmark and were allied in blood and customs to the men of the North.

The Angles first appear as one of a group of seven tribes called the Ingaevones, who, Tacitus in his *Germania* (98 A.D.) states, were living along

the southern coasts and on the islands of the Baltic. These tribes must have applied a similar name to themselves, for in *Béowulf* the Danes are called Ingwine, and the Anglo-Saxon Runic Poem says that Ing, apparently an early deity, "was first seen by men among the East Danes, but afterwards he departed eastward over the sea, a car speeding after him." Moreover, in Old Norse literature the god Freyr is sometimes called Yngvi-Freyr, and the Swedish kings styled themselves Ynglingar.

Of the Ingaevonic group Tacitus says: "There is nothing noteworthy about any one of these tribes except that in common they worship Nerthus, that is, Mother Earth, and believe that she intervenes in human affairs and visits the peoples. On an island in the ocean there is an unviolated grove, and within it a consecrated car protected by a covering, which but one priest is permitted to touch. He knows when the goddess is present in her sanctuary, and walks beside her with great reverence as she is drawn along by cows. It is a season of rejoicing, and every place which the goddess deigns to visit is a scene of festivity. No wars are undertaken, no arms are touched; every weapon is shut up; then only are peace and quiet to be observed, then only loved, until at length the same priest restores the goddess, weary of mortal

intercourse, to her temple. Afterwards the car and its coverings, and if you are willing to believe it, the divinity herself, are washed in a secret lake. Slaves perform this office, whom the same lake instantly swallows up. Hence arises a mysterious dread and a holy ignorance concerning what that may be which only those witness who are about to perish."

When the native deities emerge in Old Norse literature, Nerthus is no more. But the Danes worshipped a harvest goddess whom they called Gefion, whose oxen drew the island of Sjælland (Zealand) out of the Swedish Mälaren and planted it in the sea as a home for the Danes.

Among the seven Ingaevonic tribes Tacitus mentions the Anglii. The Danes probably first appear as the Daukiones, mentioned by Ptolemy in his *Geography* (ca. 150 A.D.) as inhabiting Skandia, the largest of three "islands" east of the peninsula we now call Denmark. Skandia is doubtless, the modern Swedish province of Skåne, inhabited at this early period by Danes and mistaken for an island before the Baltic had been explored. The form Scadinavia is found even earlier in Pliny's *Natural History* (77 A.D.), where it is expressly stated that the "island" is of a magnitude as yet unascertained. Tacitus is the first to mention the Suionum Civitates or Swedes. The Norðmenn and

Norðweg do not appear under these names until the time of Alfred the Great. A fourth great Scandinavian race, the Götar, have given their name to the island of Gotland and to Götland in Sweden, and the question of their relationship to Goths, Geats, and Jutes has provided many a bone for scholarly contention.

The tendency in the past has been to conclude that because the Anglo-Saxon language as it appears in Britain bears closest affinity to Low German, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes of the Continent must all have been Germans. Now though this may be conceded in the case of the Saxons, there is a large bulk of proof indicating the identity of Angles and Danes in tradition and culture and even in blood. Besides this common cult of Nerthus, the Angles and Danes had also similar traditions in regard to their royal pedigrees. The genealogies of all the Anglo-Saxon tribal kings, except those of Essex, go back in a striking way to kings who, in Danish tradition, are assigned to the Danish dynasty of the Skjöldungs on the island of Sjælland. Furthermore, the Anglo-Saxon poems of *Wídsíth* and *Béowulf* demonstrate beyond question that the same warrior legends were chanted in the halls of Leire and Lincoln. And Saxo Grammaticus in the twelfth century begins his history of the Danes by relating that the na-

tion was founded by two brothers, Dan and Angul, and that Angul was father of the English.

Besides this community of tradition, there existed a community of manners. Archæological research shows one homogeneous civilization stretching in prehistoric times from northern Scandinavia down beyond the Dannevirke and the River Eider. A particular piece of evidence linking Anglian culture on the Continent with that in Britain is the discovery in cemeteries of the insular Angles of a distinct cruciform brooch of three-knobbed type. Its Continental diffusion is restricted to Scandinavian territory. As Professor Baldwin Brown says: "This object is conspicuous by its marked absence from Frankish, Alamannic, and Burgundian cemeteries. . . . It occurs most abundantly to the far north in Scandinavia," but has also been found in Slesvig and Holstein.

These facts are strong corroboration of Bede's oft-quoted statement as to the homes of the fifth-century invaders. Having classified them as Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, he says of the last, "They spring from the land which is called Angulus, and which is said to have remained uninhabited from that time to the present day. It lies between the boundaries of the Jutes and those of the Saxons." Again archæological evidence supports Bede, for the Anglian district in the middle of the peninsula

is almost barren of antiquarian remains for the period following the fifth century.

We may regard it as certain that the middle of the Danish peninsula and the islands adjoining to the east were occupied in the fourth century by the Angles, a large nation closely akin in religion, heroic lore, and even, we may believe, in stock, to the Danes.

Bede's word, so amply confirmed in regard to the Angles, is probably, therefore, true in regard to the Jutes and Saxons. To the north of the Angles lay the Jutes, who have left their name in the province of Jutland: to the south lay the Saxons in the neck of the peninsula and stretching along the shore toward the Elbe.

The Saxons seem to have begun their piratical operations and coastal settlements in England and France as early as the fourth century, for early in the fifth there appear two Roman officers who bear respectively the titles of *Comes litoris Saxonici per Gallias* and *Comes litoris Saxonici per Britannias*. The latter "Saxon shore" included the English coast from the Wash to Porchester. Finally, these raids began to take on a new character. The Saxons, probably operating from a Frisian base, entered upon the conquest and settlement of the Thames basin and the southern coast of England. The Jutes followed much the same course, ravag-

ing and settling on the North Gallic coast, and then crossing the Straits of Dover for the conquest of Kent and occupying the Isle of Wight and a strip of Hampshire.

The Angles, as we have seen, migrated in such numbers that their land was left desolate. They seem at once to have occupied the country between the Stour and the Don. The region to the north they raided and pillaged, but did not occupy till after 550. In numbers and importance the Angles from the first held a position of pre-eminence among the invaders. The Saxon kings borrowed their pedigrees from the Angles, and their peoples called themselves *Angelcyn*. It was in Northumbria, settled by the Angles, that the monastic culture of Whitby, Jarrow, and Lindisfarne arose. The Franks casket, that unique survival of barbaric art, is Anglian. The poems of *Wídsíth* and *Béowulf*, though now preserved in the West Saxon dialect, were originally written in Anglian. Their subject-matter, as we shall point out in detail in Chapter XI, is nothing more than the heroic legend current in the old Anglian home and among their neighbors the Danes.

For more than three centuries the Anglo-Saxons had been settled in the island. They had long since crushed the resistance of the Britons. They had absorbed something of Latin culture from

Rome and of Irish culture from Iona. In spite of internal dissensions and dynastic changes they felt themselves at peace with the world and expected even better things for the future. The long galleys which had brought them over had long since rotted on the sands, and when they thought of their old neighbors in Denmark, it was to speak of "the glory of the kings of the Spear-Danes." But these neighbors and kinsfolk were destined to shatter rather brusquely the Anglo-Saxon dream of security.

Like a monitory roll of thunder there appeared off the Dorset coast in 787 three ships of the Northmen. When in 793 the Northmen came and destroyed Lindisfarne with all its golden shrines and precious books, Alcuin wrote in anger and terror: "Three centuries and a half our forefathers have been in this fair Britain, and never before has such a horror fallen upon the land as now has come upon us at the hands of the heathen. See the church of St. Cuthbert drenched with the blood of the priests of God, and reft of all its treasures."

Over-population is the simplest explanation of the viking madness. It has been shown that in the Stone Age the North supported the maximum population allowed by the agricultural and economic conditions of the time. Some districts were better cultivated even than now. The exhaustion of the

soil and the increase from one generation to another, combining later with political conditions in Norway, drove the vikings over the waves to pillage and to colonize. The Viking Age has been variously dated: for our present purpose we may stretch it from the first visit to the English coast in 787 to the final conquest of England by the Normans in 1066. In three simultaneous waves the Scandinavians poured over Europe: eastward the Swedes, to plant the roots of the Russian empire; westward the Norwegians, to colonize the islands of the northern Atlantic and to found the kingdoms of Dublin, Man, and the Hebrides; southward the Danes, to conquer half of England and carve out new states in Normandy and Sicily. Fifty years after the death of Charlemagne the churches of all Christendom were uniting in the prayer, "Libera nos a furore Normannorum."

Ireland felt the stroke of the Norwegian sword early in the ninth century. At first there were the usual plunderings of the very rich monastic houses. Jeweled shrines, sacred bells, finely wrought goblets and candlesticks were carried off by the sackful to Norwegian forts and galleys. God pity the abbot or priest who offered resistance! As the Irish themselves said: "Woe to those who aroused their anger if it was possible to escape from it . . . for it was swimming against a stream; it was

pummelling an oak with fists; it was a hedge against the swelling of a spring tide."

Gradually Norwegian settlements were made along the east coast, and in 840 Dublin was founded. In 847 the Danes began to dispute the supremacy, and for a brief two years (871–873) Ivar the Dane held dominion over not only the Irish Scandinavians but Northumbria as well, and could be styled "Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniae et Britanniae." But the settlements in Ireland were preponderantly Norwegian, and so too, was the overflow of colonists during the latter half of the tenth century into Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire.

The impression which the vikings made upon the Irish was profound. Only Icelandic literature is richer than the Irish in reminiscences of that stirring period. *The Victorious Career of Cellachan of Cashel* gives a romantic account of the war against Limerick and Cork about 950; and the *Cogadh Gaedhill re Gallaibh* is centered about Brian Boru and his defeat of the Leinstermen and their Scandinavian allies at the famous battle of Clontarf in 1014. The king of Leinster had sent envoys to the Scandinavian jarls of the Isles, promising at least two of them the hand of the beautiful Gormflaith and the whole of Ireland. From all the Northern world had gathered the viking hosts and

joined forces with the men of Leinster. On Good Friday within sight of Dublin they encountered the Irish army.

"There was a field and a ditch," one of the Irish warriors relates, "between us and them, and the sharp wind of the spring coming over them towards us; and it was not longer than the time that a cow could be milked, or two cows, that we continued there when not one person of the two hosts could recognize another, though it might be his son or his brother that was nearest him, unless he should know his voice, and that he previously knew the spot in which he was; we were so covered, as well our heads as our faces, and our clothes, with the drops of gory blood, carried by the force of the sharp cold wind which passed over them to us."

Sigtrygg, the Norwegian, son of Olaf Cuaran, stood with his Irish wife on the towers of Dublin watching the fortunes of the fight. As the Northmen seemed at first to have the upper hand, he cried: "Well do the outlanders reap the field; many is the sheaf they let go from them." His wife, the daughter of Brian Boru, replied ominously: "It will be at the end of the day that will be seen." And later, as the Northmen gave way, she said: "Meseemeth that the outlanders have won their heritage." "What meanest thou, O woman?" said the son of Olaf. "The outlanders are

going into the sea, their natural heritage," she answered; "I wonder is it the heat that is upon them; but they tarry not to be milked, if it is." Then the son of Olaf was angered and smote her with his fist.

Meanwhile on the Irish side, Murchadh, the son of Brian, with a sword in each hand, slew fifty men with his right and fifty with his left, only to fall at last. Brian himself, who sat apart and offered psalms and paternosters in similar multiples of fifty, was surprised by Bróðir, the Northman, and cleft through the skull. The *Njáls Saga*, which also tells the story of *Brians Bardagi* in brief, grim outlines, further relates that the Irish, on hearing of their king's death, "threw a ring around Bróðir and his men, and threw branches of trees upon them, and so Bróðir was taken alive. Wolf the Quarrelsome cut open his belly, and led him round and round the trunk of a tree, and so wound all his entrails out of him, and he did not die before they were all drawn out of him."

The results of this contact between Irish and Scandinavian, fierce and bloody though it was, were not altogether sombre. As Charles Kingsley has so well said: "In manners as well as in religion, the Norse were humanized and civilized by their contact with the Celts, both in Scotland and in Ireland. Both peoples had valor, intellect, imagi-

nation: but the Celt had that which the burly, angular Norse character, however deep and stately, and however humorous, wanted: namely, music of nature, tenderness, grace, rapidity, playfulness."

Let us return to England and follow through hastily to their conclusion the Scandinavian settlements of the island. The Danes at length wearied of their summer raids and began to think of permanent occupation. In 878, after a forlorn but stubborn resistance, Alfred the Great signed the peace of Wedmore, whereby to Alfred the Danes allowed Kent, Wessex, and western Mercia, taking to themselves nearly two thirds of England, all that lay north of the Thames and east of Watling Street. The sense of solidarity forced upon Alfred's kingdom by the Danes soon reacted against them. His son, Edward the Elder (901–925), won back much that had been lost. East Anglia and the "Five Boroughs," which the Danes seem to have held lightly, soon submitted, though the Boroughs retained their jarls and their Northern institutions. The easy amalgamation of Anglian and Dane is but another indication of their close kinship.

In Northumbria the Scandinavian colonization was more intensive. After Hálfdan's death a strong infusion came from the Norwegian settlements in Ireland and the Isles. We know from Irish annals that from 894 to 954 the kings who inter-

mittently ruled at York were connected, for the most part, with the royal house of Dublin. The most famous of these kings was Olaf Cuaran, whose son Sigtrygg we have seen on the towers of Dublin, watching the battle of Clontarf. Just as the king of Leinster gathered his allies against Brian Boru, so Olaf for ten years sought to build up a league against Athelstan the Saxon, who had extended his sway over the Danes of Northumbria. In 937 the kings of Scotland and Strathclyde and Olaf's brother, king of Dublin, joined forces against Athelstan. The Saxons advanced to meet them at Brunanburh, apparently Brunswark Hill in Dumfriesshire.

This conflict, like that of Clontarf, is typical of the racial mælstrom of the Viking Age. In Olaf's ranks were the Anglo-Danish-Norwegian men of Northumberland, Picts from Scotland, Brythonic Celts from Wales and Strathclyde, Goidelic Celts from Ireland and Scotland, Norwegians and Celto-Norwegians from Dublin and the Isles. There were Northmen also in Athelstan's army. The battle is described in a poem inserted in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in Anglo-Latin histories, by Irish and Welsh annalists, by an Icelandic saga-man, and in the Chronicle of the Picts and Scots. Athelstan won the day, and the Anglo-Saxon poet thus gloats over the victory:

There lay many a man
Marred by the javelin,
Men of the Northland
Shot over shield.
There was the Scotsman
Weary of war.
We the West Saxons,
Long as the daylight
Lasted, in companies
Troubled the track of the host that we hated.
Grimly with swords that were sharp from the grindstone,
Fiercely we hacked at the flyers before us. . . .
Then with their nailed prows
Parted the Norsemen, a
Blood-reddened relic of
Javelins, over
The jarring breaker, the deep-sea billow,
Shaping their way toward Dyflen again,
Shamed in their souls. (Tennyson's translation.)

In spite of Athelstan's decisive victory, Olaf Cuaran returned twice to Northumbria, and gave the English monarchs a great deal of trouble. Seven types of coin are found in England with his name upon them as king. In Ireland Olaf ruled long and gloriously until 980, when he sustained at Tara a severe defeat. The following year, aged and heart-broken, he went on a pilgrimage to Iona, and there died.

For nearly a century after 900 there seems to have been no material addition to the Danish colonies in England. In 991, however, began the

so-called third period of Danish invasion — political conquest. The reigning family in Denmark determined to annex England, and sent out army after army to weaken the land. At last, after a resolute but futile resistance by the English monarchs, Svend, king of Denmark, in 1013 was accepted king of all England. In 1014 he was succeeded by his son Cnut, through whose organizing genius England attained a unity never realized under the Anglo-Saxons. He ruled England as an English king. From London he governed Norway — which he had also won by conquest — his own Denmark, and Sweden, over which he exercised a superior lordship. Cnut's empire at that time was rivalled only by Germany.

Cnut brought with him some Danish institutions, especially in the organization of his court. He was succeeded by two sons, Harald (1035–1040) and Harðacnut (1040–1042). On the death of the latter, the Anglo-Saxon house resumed its rule. Edward the Confessor (1042–1066) adopted Cnut's institutions, and grafted on these an ever increasing influence from Normandy. During his reign the court became half Norman. His short-lived successor had to face two invasions in the one year in which he held the throne. Harald defeated the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge, only to be slain by the Normans at Hastings.

William the Conqueror completed the Scandinavian settlement of Britain, begun by the Angles six hundred years before. The Normans were five generations out of Norway and Denmark. Externally they were French; but in their strength and resolution they were Northmen still and reinforced the British blood with yet another Northern strain.

The most important function of the viking migrations in Western Europe was to reinvigorate our civilization with those qualities of latent culture and physical energy and intrepidity which the Northern race has always so abundantly possessed. Another great service was their dissemination from France over northern Europe of a renewed Gallo-Roman external culture. They filled a third sphere of usefulness as carriers of Celtic and Northern imagination and art.

Today, perhaps, the most apparent contribution of the Northmen in the west is in the English language. Scores of the most indispensable words we use were borrowed from the Scandinavian settlers, beginning with the ninth century: the substantives, *root, sky, skull, skin, skill, wing;* the adjectives, *happy, ill, loose, low, odd, rotten, scant, ugly, weak;* the verbs *call, die, hit, scare, scrape, scream, scrub, take, thrive,* and many others. Some of these words are Norwegian; most of them are Danish. In the

spoken dialects of Yorkshire the Scandinavian element is much stronger, and it is commonly reported that a Danish farmer from west Jutland has no trouble in keeping up a friendly conversation with a Yorkshireman. Again, the vocabulary and syntax of modern written Scandinavian are more intelligible to the untrained English reader than is German.

Scandinavian settlers have left some thousand place-names on the map of England, more thickly distributed, naturally, in the north and east. If the name of a place ends in *–bury*, *–borough*, *–ford*, *–forth*, *–ham*, *–ton*, *–worth*, we are to suppose that it was christened by the Anglo-Saxons. If it ends in *–beck*, *–by*, *–dale*,*–ey*, *–fell*, *–force*, *–haugh*, *–ness*, *–tarn*, *–toft*, *–thwaite*, *–with*, the place was named by Northern colonists of the ninth, tenth, or eleventh centuries.

The Scandinavians are freemen. They understand organized democracy. No other people can exhibit a comparable society of freehold farmers living each on his own estate, not huddled together in feudal hamlets. There is no more startling commentary upon the settlements of the Northmen in Britain than the statistics of slaves in *Doomsday Book*. In the Saxon counties of England there were 25,156 male and 467 women

slaves. In the Danish counties of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire there were no slaves at all!

The Northmen renewed the laws and social institutions of England. The words *law* and *by-law* are Norse. The Scandinavians carried non-Roman law to its highest development, the supreme product of their institutions, the commonwealth of Iceland, being a republic governed by a law-court. While the Anglian law already existing in England was not far different, being actually Scandinavian in its origin, the later Danish colonists of the ninth century seem to have strengthened it by making the divisions of property more equitable, criminal laws more strict, by differentiating clandestine and open crimes, and by regulating trade. When William the Conqueror introduced Norman courts and, with them, French and Latin terminology, he incorporated the Danish law of the northern and eastern counties upon equal terms with the Anglo-Saxon laws which still prevailed in western and southern England. At the time of *Doomsday Book* the counties of Lincoln, Derby, York, and Nottingham in the "Danelaw" still enjoyed their own peculiar system of taxation.

Furthermore, the Danes contributed to England the foundation of its commercial greatness, the forgotten life of the sea. Wherever the Northmen

settled on the coast, whether at Lynn or Grimsby on the east, or Chester or Bristol on the west, they opened ports and a flourishing trade.

The vikings imitated and adapted with great rapidity. They disseminated their acquired culture in their restless wanderings, carrying what they learned in France to England, what they learned in Ireland to Iceland. Alexander Bugge has written a chapter on the striking evidences of Norwegian habitation in the Isle of Man, where many memorial crosses have been found, Celtic in form but decorated with subjects from the *Eddas* and the Sigurd legend. On one shaft Odin with his raven appears, about to be swallowed by Fenriswolf, while on the opposite face Christ, distinguished by the cross and the fish symbol, is trampling on the Serpent.

The complex civilization of the western colonies reacted upon the home lands. Coins after Carolingian patterns, struck by the Norwegian kings of Dublin, are found in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The vikings who sailed from home in the spring in their russet homespun and their heavy cloaks of wolfskin and bearskin, as wolfish heathens and "bear-sarks," returned in the autumn in mantles of scarlet and many-colored cloth, and with the polite bearing of Anglo-Saxons or of Franks. Until about 900 A.D. the Celtic and

Frankish influences predominated; after that date the strong kinship of the Anglo-Saxons made their example most potent. In France the vikings learned to dress in western style, to build homes, to construct castles and walled cities and paved streets. The imperial idea carried out by Charlemagne was imitated in the North by Harald Fairhair in Norway and Harald Blacktooth in Denmark, while an institution like the court poet seems to have been strengthened by the Irish example.

"Every civilization," says Alexander Bugge in *Vikingerne*, "arises in the manner in which the domestic is affected and fructified by the foreign. . . A civilization that is only foreign loan and tinsel is of little account. But a society that sucks its sap only from home soil and shuts itself out from all that is alien has no power of development." The Northmen belonged to those peoples who, unlike the destroying Tartar, possess the strength and latent power of growth that enable them to adopt a civilization without decaying under it. Instead, they bettered what they borrowed, advancing rapidly from students to teachers. The Anglian monasteries of Yorkshire, in the eighth century, became the schools of western Europe. The Normans in France and in England took the lead in literature, architecture, and government. The Normans in Sicily and Naples provided a medium through

which Greek and Saracenic art and learning reached the West.

The ancient Scandinavians rivalled the modern Japanese in taking on a new material civilization in a day. But the texture of the inner life of the Northern mind persisted unchanged. The core of the social fabric was Scandinavian still; the Law remained intact.

CHAPTER II

Envoys and Traders *

> Si aliquam hujusmodi curam habueritis, sicut pater vester et predecessores vestri habuerunt, qui aves Islandicas carius quam aurum et argentum amplexari dicebantur, ... nos, cum qualicumque labore seu difficultate, ad eas obtinendas summam diligentiam, ut prius, adhibemus.
>
> Hákon Hákonarson, to Henry III

IF the Norman Conquest did not cut off England from all communication with the Scandinavian North, it was not because the Normans inherited an abiding affection for the land of their ultimate origin. Though the conquerors were themselves only a few generations out of Norway and Denmark, they spoke a tongue alien both to England and Scandinavia. In Normandy the Northern language had disappeared so rapidly that the second duke, William Longsword, who wished his son Richard to learn Norse, sent him to Bayeux, where the old language still lingered, although it had died out at Rouen. Scandinavian visitors in England felt the great gulf between the old and the new, like the Icelander who wrote that one tongue was spoken in England and the North before

William the Bastard took England, but his language was "Welsh" to the Northerners. Nor did the descendants of the Danish and Norwegian settlers in the fen country and the eastern counties of England feel any kinship with their alien-tongued cousins. Indeed, they were the last to recognize the rule of the conquerors. It was the population of these Danish districts who looked across the North Sea for succor against the Norman oppressor, while the claim of the Danish kings, the heirs of Cnut, to the English throne helped to keep England clearly in the light of Danish foreign politics for two centuries after Danish rule ceased in England. The Anglo-Saxons, too, would have preferred a successor of Cnut to the iron rule of the Normans.

Denmark *

When Hardacnut's death in 1042 put an end to the rule of Danish kings in England, King Magnus of Norway took over Denmark, and held it until his death in 1047. Then the Danes had their own king again, Svend, son of Estrid, sister of Cnut the Great, who ruled Denmark well for nearly thirty years. The last ten years of his reign coincided with the first decade of Norman rule in England, and Svend's ambitions were turned constantly toward England during this time. William, realizing the danger, soon after his accession sent an

embassy to Denmark with presents for Svend. Yet twice, in 1069 and 1075, Svend landed an army in England. The first time they seized York and carried off much plunder, but the second time they found no support and withdrew. This was the last landing of a Danish army on English soil. King Svend died in 1076, and was succeeded in turn by five of his sons. Only one of them, Cnut, organized an expedition against England. In 1085 a fleet of a thousand ships assembled in the Limfjord in North Jutland, with the object of sailing against England, and was joined by Norwegian allies. But Cnut himself was detained by domestic troubles until so late in the year that he was obliged to let the fleet disband. Had Svend or his sons been able to get the support of a united Denmark, they might possibly have made good their claim as Cnut's successors to the crown of England.*

During the peace between England and Denmark under Svend's sons, the communication between the two lands was chiefly on matters connected with the church. Deposits of English coins in Denmark, which occur in abundance from the time of Cnut the Great — a good indication of commerce —, now fail utterly. Toward the end of the period an English goldsmith named Anketil was seven years in Denmark, where he directed the mint, and the Danish coins struck at Roskilde

during the reign of Niels (1104–1134) show the influence of the English mints of the first two Williams. The fact that one of Niels's own types was used by Stephen in England (1135–1154) may be due to an English goldsmith returned from Denmark.

After twenty-three years of civil war, Denmark, in 1157, entered upon a period of national greatness under Valdemar I, surnamed "the Great" (1157–1182) and his sons Cnut VI (1182–1202), and Valdemar II, "the Victorious" (1202–1241). To England the Valdemars looked for foreign alliances and ideals of government. Valdemar the Great employed several Englishmen to fill responsible positions in Denmark in the chancery and the exchequer. An Englishman named Odo served the Danish king as treasurer and money-broker, while John of St. Albans, a celebrated English goldsmith, performed some duties in Denmark, and one Nicholas of St. Albans was for thirty years master of the mint to Valdemar, later holding the same post in England. Attached to Valdemar's son Christopher was an English secretary, named Lucas, of whom more later. Valdemar II entered upon friendly diplomatic relations with the English crown. He agreed to aid the German emperor, Otto IV, nephew of King John of England, in the common cause made by John and Otto

against Philip Augustus, and in 1207 he had Otto transported from the Danish port of Ribe to England at his own expense. In the following year King John took under his special protection one Nicholas Merivale of Ribe on the ground that "we and the king of Denmark have become friends." In 1212 Absalon, "Count of Denmark," came on a visit to King John, who gave him a handsome present of two hundred marks on his return home. In 1213 and 1216 the Danish chronicles record the chief events in England. In 1217 the men of Count Absalon received letters of protection in England, and in 1221 Count Absalon himself again took out a passport for his ship and property.

One of Valdemar's most significant institutions was English, his *Jordebog*, an inventory of the wealth of Denmark, made on the general plan of the *Doomsday Book* of William the Conqueror. It cannot, however, be said that Valdemar's foreign policies were more English than French or international. His wars took him into Germany, his sister married Philip Augustus of France, and of his own two wives the first was a princess of Bohemia, the second a princess of Portugal.

Englishmen followed the chief events of the period of the Valdemars with considerable interest, if we may judge from contemporary Anglo-Latin works. John of Salisbury, in one of his letters,

extols Valdemar I at the expense of Henry II, and there is preserved a letter of Thomas à Becket to Valdemar himself, appealing for his help against Henry. English chroniclers recorded the great Danish expeditions in Pomerania, and the important part played by the Danes in the Third Crusade (1189). At the same time they deprecated the marriage of Philip Augustus and Ingeborg of Denmark (1193) as an act of special perfidy on Philip's part toward England. "He thought to have vexed sore the realm of England," says Higden, "for he sent to the king of Denmark desiring the marriage of his sister in this condition, that he would grant to him in the name of the dowry the old right that the Danes had in the realm of England." * Even as late as the thirteenth century, Englishmen remembered this "old right" of the successors of Cnut the Great. The brilliant English historian, Matthew Paris of St. Albans, a contemporary of Valdemar II, asserts that when death cut short that monarch's career, he was preparing to invade England, "according to his ancient right." Fortunately for England, the Valdemars had found an outlet for their military ambition nearer home, on the southern shores of the Baltic.

After the death of Valdemar II in 1241, Denmark suffered a century's eclipse, another period

of civil wars. The only events that attracted much attention in England in this time were the murders of Erik V in 1250, and of Erik VI in 1286. The latter event called forth a letter from Edward I, at the time in Paris, to Edmund Earl of Cornwall, in which he says that the deed has "smitten his heart with horror," and quotes: "Happy is he whom others' perils render cautious; for your own affairs are concerned when the nearest wall is blazing."

In spite of these troublous times in Denmark, Danish merchants were trading in England. In fact we have no reason to suppose that merchant ships had ever ceased to ply between Denmark and England from viking days down. Even in the ninth century peaceful trading craft had followed in the corsair's wake. Alfred the Great, in his *Orosius*, describes the flourishing port of Hedeby, later supplanted by its neighbour Slesvig, on the east coast of South Jutland. After the Norman conquest, Slesvig continued to be one of the leading Danish ports, and maintained a trade with England through the middle ages, but for English commerce the important centre was the cathedral town of Ribe, opposite England on the west coast of Jutland. London, and, after London, Yarmouth and King's Lynn, were the principal ports of entry for Danes coming to England. In London

they were specially accorded, by English law, the free rights of London citizens; they had their own "Hall of the Danes," and their own St. Clement's Church. In exchange for these privileges they were required to hold the watch at Bishopsgate.

During the reign of Valdemar II (1202–1241), notices of commerce with Denmark appear frequently in the royal letters preserved in the English Rolls. Now it is an order to seize the goods of Danish merchants to cover the losses of citizens of London in Denmark; again it is a general license to Danish merchants to trade in England free of toll; on another occasion, it may be, English traders are allowed to carry grain to Denmark; or still again, the king gives a passport to a messenger he is sending to Denmark after hawks, or he writes to the officials of Yarmouth directing the disposition of a consignment of Danish horses which has just arrived. Valdemar's rent-roll shows that 8,400 horses were at this time annually exported from Ribe. Later in the century, English money — the pound sterling — was the standard of value in the Danish trading centres, actual instances being recorded from Slesvig, Roskilde, and Ribe.

It is doubtful, however, if commerce between Denmark and England, in the middle ages, was of much significance in the development of higher

or artistic culture. Trade in Denmark, unlike that of Norway, was not the approved avocation of nobility and clergy. The citizens of the Danish towns who followed the seas were socially and intellectually a submerged population, who never rose to a position in the community as important as that of the citizens of the German trading towns. Possibly, commerce may have carried oral artistic traditions, such as the ballad and the fairy tale, from one country to the other. But when the popular ballad emerges in Denmark in the fifteenth century, it is in the possession of the nobility, and its knightly themes rarely touch the unromantic life of the townsfolk.

During the thirteenth century a more independent and intellectually aggressive people were taking over the Danish trade with England — the Germans of the Hansa towns. Early in the fourteenth century, half the ships which sailed from Ribe to King's Lynn were German. The Hansa merchants received a setback in 1340, when a third Valdemar ascended the throne of Denmark — Valdemar, called "Atterdag" (1340–1375), because he brought "day again" to his country. Valdemar came to open war with the Hansa League, and apparently sought the help of Edward III in his struggle. But his policy seems to have vacillated, for, we hear, in 1359, of a Danish

project to invade England and deliver the captive John of France.* Friendly relations were resumed: in 1364 King Edward issued him a safe conduct to visit England, though we have no record of his doing so.

Finally, at the beginning of another century, England and Denmark were drawn together for a time by the embassies sent to arrange the marriage of King Erik and Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. The match was brought about by the great Queen Margaret, Erik's ambitious aunt, who, in 1397, by the Edict of Calmar, effected the union of the three Scandinavian countries. One of the delegates, the Bishop of Oslo, had the honor of preaching before King Henry. A proxy wedding at Westminster was confirmed by a magnificent marriage ceremony at Lund in 1406, when Philippa became Queen of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. She seems to have been a spirited woman, capable on occasion of directing the Danish forces. She lies buried at Vadstena in Sweden, where she died while on a visit to the monastery, in 1430.

Philippa was the first English queen of Denmark after the Norman Conquest. The second was Caroline Matilda, who was married to Christian VII in 1766. In fair return Denmark has given England also two queens, Anne wife of James I and Alexandra wife of Edward VII.

Sweden

Of Sweden there is much less to say in connection with English history.* It must be remembered that Sweden, although the oldest of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, did not attain an international position commensurate with Denmark and Norway until the Vasas came to the throne in the sixteenth century. The southern part of the present kingdom, including Skåne, Sweden's richest province, belonged to Denmark until 1658. About the time of the Norman Conquest the old race of Swedish kings at Uppsala came to an end, and in the following centuries the country was torn by rival factions. Under these conditions Sweden was not likely to maintain very intimate relations with England. In the English Rolls we have but one or two records of Swedish merchants in the twelfth century. In 1231 a relative of the king of Sweden visited England and gave Henry III a present of hawks and hares. In 1255 Earl Birger, regent of Sweden, sent an embassy of Dominican friars to King Henry to make a treaty of peace, and Henry replied by sending a delegation of the same order to "bind a perpetual chain of peace between us and you and the king of Sweden your son."

From remote times the Swedes had been traders. They maintained a route through Russia to the

Black Sea and made commerical treaties with the Greek emperors. It was the island of Gotland, with Visby its capital, in the Baltic east of the Swedish coast, which was the centre of that trade. The soil of Gotland has yielded no less than 22,902 Arabic coins. Of English and Irish coins from the eighth century until 1150 thirty thousand have been unearthed in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark and almost half of them were found on the island of Gotland. And the great mass of this wealth must have been accumulated in commerce, for Gotlanders do not appear in history as viking raiders. Their trade with England, to which they brought large quantities of fur and wax, continued through the middle ages, even after Low German merchants in the thirteenth century obtained a footing in Gotland, and Visby became a member of the Hansa League. The trade between Gotland and England does not appear to have left any trace in literature, and need not, therefore, be treated here in more detail.*

Norway and its Colonies †

Of all the Scandinavian peoples who visited England in the centuries following the Norman Conquest it was the Norwegians who came most frequently. In the royal writs and passports from this period preserved in the Public Record Office

at London, documents referring to Norwegians occur approximately ten times as often as those which refer to Danes. A glance at the map will explain the cause. Denmark, after the Norman Conquest, retained no colonial possessions in the British Isles. Politically she had no interest in England beyond the sentimental one that England once belonged to Denmark and might some day be regained. Furthermore, England was not a necessary market for Danish trade. The rich, rolling plains of Denmark, relieved of their congestion by the viking migrations, were self-supporting in most of the necessities of life, and for the importation of articles of luxury, as well as the export of her own horses and fish, Denmark had the Continent at her door, and overland routes led from Aalborg in the north of Jutland south to Rome and southeast to Paris. For Norway, on the other hand, England was the nearest door. Norway's colonies in the British Isles extended from the Shetlands in the north, through the Orkneys and the counties of Caithness and Sutherland, down the west coast of Scotland to the Isle of Man; in Ireland Dublin was the capital of a Norwegian kingdom; and far to the north and west were dependencies in the Færoes and the republics of Iceland and Greenland. For more than two centuries after the Conquest, as we shall see, the kings of Norway maintained intimate

diplomatic relations with the Norman kings of England. And, quite independently of her colonies, the trade of Norway with England direct was perhaps the closest bond of all between the two countries. The austerity of Norway's mountains and fjords compelled her people to fare abroad in quest of the abundance of other lands. There was no road open except the sea. Opposite Norway, across the North Sea, beckoned the English coast, many of its ports peopled by descendants of Norwegian settlers. The Norwegian skipper found the route to England more direct, and his reception more friendly than if he ventured farther south to the alien-tongued ports of the Continent.

In England the Norwegians could find all they desired. The leading staple which they brought from England was wheat. The very word *flúr* in Old Norwegian is from the English. Second to wheat, cloth was the chief article of export from England to Norway, the Old Norwegian word for cloth (*klæði*) also being an English loan. Only simpler and coarser stuffs were manufactured in England itself, the finer weaves being importations from Flanders and France, whither England sent its raw wool. England acted as the middleman in the shipment also of large quantities of French wine to Norway. And ornamental articles which Norwegians bought in England must have been

innumerable in their variety. We even hear of an Icelander in the twelfth century going abroad for materials with which to build a church, who bought his wood in Norway but went to England for his bells.*

In return, Norway had commodities to offer which all the world wanted. Of first importance was fish. In the middle ages, when fast-days were more religiously observed than now, fish was a prime necessity. In the waters off the western coast of Norway there were cod enough to be dried into stockfish for a century of Fridays in all Europe, and the Norwegians, from the earliest times, availed themselves of this source of wealth. They dried the fish in the wind, and sent them over the seas to England, whence they were distributed near and far, even to the most inaccessible inland districts of the Continent. So important were their fisheries to the Norwegians that on one occasion they obtained a special dispensation from the Pope to fish on the Sabbath. Lumber, which in later times has become one of Norway's chief articles of export, did not figure significantly in her foreign trade before the fourteenth century; England and France were not yet deforested. Icelandic wool must also have been a marketable commodity then as now. In 1198, when an Icelandic ship was sold at Rouen for the English

crown, its cargo of seventeen sacks of wool brought four times the value of the hull. And fish was not Norway's only staple of trade. Hunting hawks and falcons came from the North, and furs of all kinds. In the Norwegian translation of Thomas's romance of *Tristan*, made in 1226, it is related that a vessel of Norwegian merchants was driven by storm to the coast of Brittany, and anchored under the castle where the youth Tristan lived. He went down to see the merchants and their wares, and found on board "great gray skins and white skins and beaver-skins, black sable, walrus tusks and bear hides, goshawks and grey-falcons, and many white falcons, wax and hides, he-goat skins, dried fish and tar, oil and sulphur, and all sorts of Norwegian wares."* This very long schedule of articles displays an interest in Norwegian products which would hardly be felt by an Anglo-Norman poet and was probably supplied by the translator. Though the document is not historical, the list is a representative cargo from Norway.

In the century after the Norman Conquest the chief English port of entry for Norwegian ships was the old Scandinavian settlement of Grimsby in Lincolnshire, near the mouth of the Humber, where Norwegians were required to pay a certain stipulated toll in the time of Henry I and Henry II. The *Orkneyinga Saga* relates how one Kali, a Nor-

wegian who later became earl of Orkney, sailed at the age of fifteen — about the year 1120 — with some merchants, west to England. They held their course to Grimsby, where he met "a great number of people from Norway, the Orkneys, Scotland and the Sudreys," including Harald Gilli, in disguise, who subsequently became king of Norway. From Grimsby, Kali sailed back to Bergen in Norway, and recited a poem about his English experiences:

> Unpleasantly we have been wading
> In the mud of a weary five weeks.
> Dirt we had indeed in plenty,
> While we lay in Grimsby harbour;
> But now on the moor of sea-gulls
> Ride we o'er the crests of billows,
> Gaily as the elk of bowsprits
> Eastward ploughs its way to Bergen.

The young Norwegian found more than mud at Grimsby: "Kali was a great dandy," the saga adds, "and made a big display, as he was lately arrived from England." *

Other towns besides Grimsby figured in the Norwegian trade — London (with its Scandinavian colonies), Newcastle, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Boston, Lynn, on the east coast, and Chester and Bristol in the west. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries King's Lynn took the place of Grimsby as the favorite rendezvous of Norwegian ships.

In these English ports the Northern language persisted in places, according to Alexander Bugge, until after 1200, and at King's Lynn, with its Norwegian colony of seamen and merchants, it is probable that Norwegian was familiar to the citizens throughout our period. This was no doubt also the case on the west coast at Bristol frequented by the Norwegians of Dublin. The blood of Bristol Norsemen flowed still in the veins of the seamen who ventured with Cabot to the re-discovery of North America.

In Norway, one town — Bergen — has, since its foundation in the eleventh century, almost monopolized the trade with England. There were other ports which maintained direct sailings to England: Nidaros, otherwise known as Trondhjem, in the North; Stavanger and Tönsberg, south of Bergen; and Oslo on the present site of Christiania: but Bergen was in the middle ages as it is today the great depot for the western coast of Norway. Here fishermen from the Lofoten islands, from Shetland and the Færoes and far-away Iceland, brought their herring for distribution to England and the Continent. To Bergen first came the skins of the Greenland polar bear, and the Icelandic white falcons, which were especially prized by royal huntsmen in the middle ages. A Dane writing in 1191 describes the town as rich and full

of various wares, visited by ships and peoples from every part: "Icelanders, Greenlanders, Englishmen, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Gotlanders, and others whom it would be long to enumerate." *

Of all foreigners who came thither for barter the English sailing masters were in the highest favor, until the Hansa merchants gained their great concessions early in the fourteenth century. A late mediæval tradition at Bergen asserted that the English secured their privileges at the very outset, when King Olaf the Peaceful (1066–1093) founded the city. It was the English trade more than anything else which made Bergen in the middle ages the largest city in Norway. An event which happened in 1186 shows how welcome the English merchants were. At that time King Sverrir was at Bergen, and had some trouble with drunkenness in his army, caused by German (Rhenish?) wine. Shortly afterward, the king made a public address in which he referred to the strangers who sought Bergen from across the seas. He thanked first of all "the Englishmen, who come here bringing wheat and honey, flour and cloth." After the English he praised the traders from the Orkneys, Shetland, the Færoes, and Iceland. But the Germans and their wine he forbade the land.† Bergen was a favorite capital of the Norwegian kings, who erected a series of royal residences on the

bluff overlooking the bay and the shipping. This was of great significance, for it meant that the Norwegian court in the most direct manner possible was exposed to the continual stream of influences which poured into Bergen across the North Sea from England.

English tutelage of the king and court of Norway dated from a time even before Bergen was a city. The royal household of Norway had regarded the English court as its pattern of conduct from the time that Harald Fairhair (860–930), who first united the kingdoms of Norway under one crown, sent his son Hákon to King Athelstan (925–940) to be educated as his foster-son. All the Norwegian kings who followed Harald Fairhair, down to 1066, spent their youth in foreign lands, and are called on this account "the emigrant kings." Erik (930–935), Hákon (935–961), Olaf Tryggvason (995–1000), Saint Olaf (1016–1030) — all were as much at home in England as in Norway. On Olaf's fall, Norway and England were for a few years under one united government, that of Cnut the Great. After Cnut, a Norwegian, Magnus the Good, ruled Norway (1035–1047). He asserted his claim to the English crown, but left it to his successor Harald Harðráði to fight for it and to fall at Stamford Bridge in 1066.

William the Conqueror, with his habitual diplomatic astuteness, realized the importance of winning the good-will of Norway. A few years after the Conquest, he sent out from Grimsby the first embassy from the Norman court of England to Norway, a precursor of many others during the reigns of his successors. This delegation obtained from King Olaf the Peaceful (1066–1093) the friendship they sought. Olaf employed an English clerk as his tutor, and is said to have given the English special trading privileges when he founded the city of Bergen. His successor, Magnus Barelegs (1093–1103) — so called because he affected the kilts of the Scottish Highlander — was of a more warlike nature. He made three expeditions to Great Britain. On the first, in 1093, he subdued the rebellious Orkneys and Hebrides, and secured from Malcolm, king of Scotland, a formal cession of the Western Isles. On his second expedition, in 1098, he made the independent Norse "king" of Man acknowledge the overlordship of Norway — a relation which existed until 1266 — and, inflamed by his success, descended upon the west coast of England, threatening revenge on the English for the death of his grandfather, Harald Harðráði. In Anglesea Sound he met and defeated the Norman Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury. Magnus was obliged to return to Norway

without pushing farther his revenge. In 1102 he crossed the North Sea for the last time. On one of his expeditions he is said to have sent his shoes to the *ard-ri* ("over-king") of Ireland requesting him to wear them on his shoulders in token of submission. He married his son to an Irish princess, and fought in Ireland several times, being slain there at last in 1103. The terror of his visitations is remembered to this day in the fairy tales of the West Highlands. After the time of Magnus, raiders from the Orkneys, harrying the Scottish coast, occasionally reached English territory, but the battle between the Norwegians and the Normans in Anglesea Sound, in 1098, was the last Scandinavian attack upon England.*

The sons of Magnus — Eystein, Sigurd, and Olaf — who ruled Norway jointly (1103–1130), cemented again the old friendship between the crowns of England and Norway, and diplomatic courtesies continued unbroken for nearly two hundred years. In 1107 Sigurd, with sixty ships and ten thousand men, set out for the crusades, and spent the winter in England as the guest of Henry I. An Icelandic poet, Einar Skúlason, thus celebrated the occasion in song: —

> The king is on the waves!
> The storm he boldly braves.
> His ocean steed,
> With winged speed,

O'er the white-flashing surges,
To England's coast he urges;
And there he stays the winter o'er:
More gallant king ne'er trod that shore.*

After Sigurd's death, Norway entered upon a century of civil wars between rival heirs to the throne (1130–1240). According to Norwegian law every man who was descended on the male side from Harald Fairhair had an equal right, whether his line was legitimate or illegitimate; and there were many hardy enough to prove their birthright by the ordeal of bearing a hot iron. The turmoil of the period did not, however, cut off Norway from England. It was in these times that Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his *History of the Kings of Britain* (1135), showed the interest Norway had for Englishmen, by narrating the avowed conquests of Norway in remote times by Arthur and other mythical English kings, symbolizing, at the same time, the Norman dream of empire in the North. During the reign of Henry II (1154–1189), envoys laden with gifts frequently crossed the seas between Henry and the ever-changing sovereigns of Norway.

In 1184 a remarkable personality, Sverrir (1184–1202), put an end for a time to civil discord and planted a new dynasty on the throne. He was a priest from the Færoes, who led a ragamuffin army of peasants, called "Birch-shanks" because

they bound their feet with birch-bark instead of shoes while marching through the snows. Not even excommunication kept Sverrir from enjoying the inherited friendship of the English crown. King and archbishop in England were asked to take sides in Norway's civil strife. In 1200 Pope Innocent III forbade Hubert of Canterbury to accept Sverrir's gifts. This did not deter King John from espousing his cause. In the following year he sent supplies and a regiment of Welsh mercenaries, both footmen and mounted archers, to aid Sverrir against his opponents, the so-called "Bagler" or clerical party. One of Sverrir's most loyal supporters in his own household was an English clerk named Martin, who, as his chaplain, virtually performed the functions of a chancellor.

For fifteen years after Sverrir's death in 1202, the strife between Birchshank and Bagler made the Norwegian throne again an unstable seat. It was in these disturbed times that a Norwegian merchant deposited fifty marks for safe-keeping with a merchant of Lynn, and had much trouble to get the money back. Trade between England and Norway was increasing rapidly, in spite of civil war on both sides of the sea, and diplomatic correspondence continued uninterrupted, the rival Birchshank and Bagler kings vying to win King John's favor by seeing who could present him with

the finest hunting hawks and falcons. John returned their generosity with princely casks of wine from Aquitaine, for "our beloved friend the king of Norway." In 1214, the year in which the English were defeated at Bouvines, King John went so far as to order for Paul, the Norwegian ambassador, an annual pension of one hundred shillings in gold. In October of the following year, four months after Runnimede and Magna Carta, a prince of the Norwegian royal household was in England on a diplomatic mission, accompanied by his chaplain and a retinue of servants, and King John ordered rich suits of clothing for the members of the legation, a silver-gilt cup for the ambassador himself, and another cup for his king. It may be that John had received substantial help from Norway in those days when he most needed aid in his wars with France, the Pope, and the barons. Significant, at any rate, is the circumstance that the crown of Norway, in John's time, actually possessed a fief in England.

In 1217 a new era of national unity began in Norway, with the accession of Sverrir's grandson, Hákon Hákonarson (1217–1263), often called Hákon the Old. The forty-six years of his reign fell within the reign of Henry III in England (1216–1272). Like Henry, he was a boy when he came to the throne, but somewhat older, a lad of

thirteen, and a youth of sterner stuff. If the two monarchs had one quality in common, it was their fondness for foreigners, a circumstance fortunate for their lifelong correspondence and the commercial amity that developed between their subjects.

The reign of Hákon Hákonarson falls naturally into two equal periods of twenty-three years. The first half ended in 1240, when the last rebellion was put down and Skúli, Hákon's father-in-law fell, the last rival claimant to the throne. During this period Hákon devoted himself to unifying his realm, to promoting architecture and literature, and to training his people in the civilization of Norman England. The cordial relations between England and Norway blossomed into an intimacy never realized before. From the decade following Hákon's accession, 1217 to 1226, there are preserved in the English Public Record Office alone more than fifty state documents relating to trade, travel, and negotiations between the two nations. Among them are three letters from Hákon himself to Henry III. In the first he proposes that the friendship which existed between their predecessors be continued; he is sending falcons to Henry, and promises more when his men come from Iceland with birds; he asks protection for Norwegian merchants, and reminds Henry of a piece of land that was to be allotted him in England. In the

second letter he asks Henry to have his bailiffs in Lynn look into the case of the Norwegian merchant who had deposited fifty marks with a merchant of Lynn, and could not get it back — lest English ships suffer reprisal from Norwegians. In the third letter he writes that he is now sending Henry the gerfalcons from Iceland, three white ones and ten gray, of the sort that Henry's father and ancestors prized more than gold and silver, and trusts that Henry, too, will be pleased with them; he is sending also walrus tusks and elks' antlers, in the hope that the friendship between the two kings will continue. From the same period we have four letters to King Henry from Hákon's father-in-law, Duke Skúli.

Hardly a year passes in this decade without the record of a mission from Hákon to the court at London. The *King's Mirror*, the Norse court manual of the thirteenth century, in describing the duties of an envoy, says that "the king has a right to call upon every freeman who seems fitted for it or is found to possess suitable insight, to serve in embassies to foreign lords." * Hákon must have placed high his requirements for an envoy to the polite Angevin court. In 1217 a member of the Norwegian royal family visited England, while the abbot of a Norwegian monastery came as ambassador. In 1222 Chancellor Ivar Bodde is twice

mentioned as receiving sums from the English treasury toward his expenses and those of his four associates. In the same year Hákon made Henry the handsome present of a live elk. It was long before the time when resident ministers became a custom in the diplomatic practice of nations. Each mission was a special one; envoys crossed the sea, delivered their letters, negotiated their business, and returned again. And yet, even in this early period, there were few months when Norway did not have her representative in London. Sometimes the same minister served for several years, coming to England in the autumn, spending the winter there, and returning by fair winds in the spring, laden with presents and impressed by the glitter of Anglo-Norman life. Henry in his turn sent envoys bearing friendly assurances to the North, where they were graciously received by Hákon. One palpable result of this friendship is King Hákon's Hall, which stands on the bluff at Bergen. For, as Dr. Fett has shown, the Norwegian palace bore a marked resemblance to Henry III's palace at Westminster.*

There were practical reasons for these numerous commissions, in addition to Hákon's desire to maintain his position as a prince among princes. One of these was the growing commerce between the two countries. At the very beginning of Há-

kon's reign, in 1217, the English regency wrote under King Henry's name that the Norwegian envoy had effected a trade treaty, but was invited to remain in England until certain matters of redress were settled: "We desire and grant that the merchants, as well of our country as of yours, go, come, and return through our land." From his hall above Bergen Bay, King Hákon looked down every summer upon fleets of Norwegian ships, their holds filled with dried cod, their prows pointed toward Lynn, and early in the autumn he saw them return laden with cloth, wine, and flour. In the meantime English ships had been lying at anchor in the harbor beneath the castle, and their decks were visited by curious Norwegians, examining the swords and inlaid tables, the breast-pins and trinkets and embroidered girdles, which the strangers had with them for barter. When the Englishman Matthew Paris presented his papers to King Hákon, he counted two hundred ships in the bay of Bergen. Across the sea at Lynn and the neighboring ports there were Norwegian sails in plenty. On June 23, 1224, a letter from Henry III to the bailiffs of Lynn allowed eleven Norwegian ships at Lynn to sail whither they pleased. Two days later another letter permitted five more Bergen ships at Lynn to purchase grain and return home. The crown viewed the Norwegian trade with especial favor.

Again and again royal writs were directed to the bailiffs of the port towns ordering them now to examine the grievances of Norwegian merchants, now to exempt all Norwegian ships from the general embargo on foreign trade, now to protect all men and merchants of "our dear friend, the King of Norway" in the ports of England and on her soil.

After 1240, through the second half of his reign, with peace assured at home, Hákon devoted his best energies to foreign diplomacy. By his genial statecraft he raised Norway to a place among the world powers which it has never occupied either before or after. The emperor Frederick II was pleased to keep up with him an intermittent exchange of letters and gifts. In 1247 the pope sent an emissary to crown Hákon with all the pomp and ritual of the Church. After the ceremony, when the legate offered to make him emperor in opposition to Frederick, the king is said to have replied proudly that "he was willing to make war against the enemies of the Church, but not against all the pope's enemies." * A year later Louis IX of France urged Hákon to accompany him on a crusade. In 1250 the Russian grand-duke, Alexander Newsky, applied for the hand of Hákon's daughter, Christina, for his son, but negotiations were broken off by the Tartar invasion. In 1258

she was married to Don Philip, brother of Alfonso the Wise, king of Castile. To Byzantium and the East Hákon's praises were carried by Norwegian crusaders, and in 1262 he went so far as to send a gift of falcons to the Soldan of Tunis. Well might his biographer write in a fine burst of patriotism:

> O gatherer of many praises,
> Costly gifts fall far and wide
> Without stint from thy good pleasure,
> Thy gracious boons grace all the world.*

It was to the British Isles, however, that Hákon looked especially for political expansion. He sought for a marriage between Beatrice, daughter of Henry III, and his eldest surviving son. Her father replied courteously, in 1259, that other provision had been made for her, unfortunately, by the king of France, but begged that their alliance might continue. Magnus married a Danish princess two years later. With his dependencies in the British Isles, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and Man, Hákon kept in closer contact than any monarch since Magnus Barelegs. Officials went back and forth continually. In 1247, Harald, king of the Sudreys, who had recently been knighted by Henry III, was summoned to Norway, where Hákon gave him his daughter Cecilia in marriage (1248), but they were lost at sea on the voyage home. The Scottish kings had

long chafed under the anomaly of having the islands off their western coast belong to a distant ruler who never saw them. They sent envoys repeatedly to Hákon to induce him to sell the islands. In 1262 Alexander III took matters into his own hands, and began hostilities. When the news reached Hákon, he sailed in command of a vast fleet designed to crush Scotland. An indecisive battle was fought at Largs, near the entrance to the Forth of Clyde, on October 2, 1263, after which Hákon retired to the Orkneys, and there on December 15, death overtook him. How far-reaching were his ambitions may be judged by the fact that the Norse Ostmen of the Irish coast towns had urged him to come to deliver Ireland from English rule, and the Irish *Annals of Loch Cé* for the year 1263 assert that "Ebhdhonn, king of Lochlann, died in Innsi-Orc, on the way whilst coming to Erinn." *

One of the early acts of Hákon's son, Magnus Lawmender (1263–1280), was to negotiate with Alexander III the treaty of Perth, by which Man and the Hebrides were relinquished, Scotland to pay one hundred marks annually to Norway. Nor had Hákon's campaign upset friendly relations with the English court. Henry III wrote Magnus that he sorrowed for his father "as a special friend." Their subjects, however, were not so amicable in their trade relations as in the days of Hákon. The

attitude of the English burghers was sometimes quite hostile to the Norwegians. In 1269 a treaty was concluded at Winchester between Magnus and Henry in view of the wrongs and insults done the people of each country by citizens of the other. From the paucity of trade records, one generalization may be made, that fewer Norwegians of noble birth were asking for special privileges at English ports. As chivalric ideas took root in Norwegian society, it became less consistent with a nobleman's dignity to engage in trade. He abandoned the tiller and consigned his foreign bartering to professionals of the burgher class.

The fruition of Norman and English ideals is seen in the reforms which won Magnus his surname of Lawmender. His court law, the *Hirðskrá*, was an imitation of Norman customs. The old lawmaking power of the Thing was abrogated, and the king and his council were given the right to make and repeal laws. The Royal Council, patterned after the corresponding English institution, consisted of the chancellor, the earls, and the liegemen. Moreover, the title of *lendr maðr* was abolished for that of baron.

Erik, son of Magnus (1280–1299), was but twelve years of age when he came to the throne. The next year he married Margaret, daughter of King Alexander of Scotland, herself of the tender age of

ten. Margaret died in 1283, but despite their extreme youth, a daughter also named Margaret survived her. At least such is the authentic and accepted record of history. This little girl drew not only Scotland and Norway but England also, for a time, into a net of diplomatic intrigue. For in 1284 the Scottish heir died, and the infant Margaret was declared successor to the throne, which she inherited on the death of Alexander two years later. About this time Edward I showed his friendship to Erik by lending him two thousand marks through a Lucca banking house, an advance on the annual payments due from Scotland, long in arrears. Seeing a chance to cement England and Scotland, King Edward in 1290 concluded arrangements to marry his son Prince Edward to the little Maid of Norway. Edward sent a ship and retinue to Norway to bring her over, but the princess sailed for Scotland in another vessel. Like so many others, she died en route in the Orkneys, about September 26, 1290, having been for four and a half years queen of Scotland, a land which she never saw.

Thus were frustrated the dreams of Erik and of Edward, and the union of Great Britain was postponed another three hundred years. During the disputes over the Scottish succession which followed, Erik presented his own claims to the crown as his daughter's heir according to the Norse law,

and sent five delegates to the Council of Berwick. Disappointed at Edward's award to Balliol, he married again in 1293 Isabella Bruce, daughter of Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and sister of the famous Bruce of history. This alliance proved of but slight political advantage; Isabella's only child was a daughter, and she lived a long uneventful life in Norway, widowed for more than half a century, until her death in 1358. Erik himself died without male issue in 1299, and was succeeded by his brother, Hákon V.

The history of Anglo-Norwegian relations after the fiasco of 1290 may be concluded briefly. Diplomatic estrangement followed. Norway turned to France. Doubtless the Bruce family helped to ally Erik against Edward. In 1295, at Paris, Erik's kinsman and secretary, Audun Hugleiksson, concluded a treaty with Philip the Fair of France against England, and received six thousand marks to equip a Norwegian fleet. Duke Hákon Magnusson, his brother, sought though he did not obtain a French wife. After he ascended the throne as Hákon V (1299–1319), he seems to have had Philip the Fair as his model in internal government. The height of French political influence is marked by the ten years in the middle of the fourteenth century when Jean de Guilbert of Narbonne sojourned in the North.

Though as early as 1122 Norwegians coming to Utrecht were exempted from toll, and though there were occasional cargoes from the North coming directly to the Low Countries, yet our first evidence of Norse-Flemish relations is in Erik's reign, when Count Guy of Flanders sent his servant William to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. About 1304 we find Norwegians trading between Flanders and Lynn. In 1308 they had their own "street" in Bruges, and in the same year Flanders and Norway made their first recorded treaty. In 1335, Hákon V's successor, Magnus VII (1319–1374), married Blanche, sister of the Count of Namur.

Meanwhile Norwegian trade had been passing from English into German hands. Hákon V had married a North German princess, Eufemia of Arnstein, and in his foreign policy preferred the Hansa merchants to the English. True, there was some trade with England for a quarter of a century after 1290, not as formerly in the hands of courtiers and clerics, but due to the initiative of the townsfolk — a growing commercial enterprise nipped all too early in the bud. Bergen had in those days its guild of "England Farers," and Lynn in turn had a guild of St. William, composed entirely of traffickers with "North Bern" (Bergen). Customs receipts for several English ports,

fortunately preserved, show that from 1303 to 1308 an average of twenty-two ships a year came from Norway to Lynn and towns adjoining, comprising a total of one-sixth of all incoming vessels. But quarrels were many. Political estrangement between courts was accompanied by bitterness and bloodshed between merchants. Ill feeling came to a head in 1312, when some English fishermen off the Norwegian coast killed a tax-collector and two other men of importance. This was followed by wholesale arrests and reprisals upon Englishmen in Norway. Henceforth the English were all but excluded from Bergen, although as late as the1375 they made ineffectual attempts to regain a footing there. After 1350 English and Norwegian merchants almost ceased to cross the North Sea.* The cause for this lay in something more serious than street-fights and petty jealousies. The Hansa "counter," controlled by Lübeck, which had gained concessions in Norway in the last quarter of the preceding century, established itself securely in Bergen in the first half of the fourteenth century. Henceforth Norwegian fish came to England in Hanseatic bottoms. For more than two centuries the trade of Norway was under the control of the German free cities.

In considering, as we shall in the chapters to come, the question of the derivation of Norwegian

culture during the reigns of Sverrir, Hákon the Old, and Magnus Lawmender, one cannot keep too vividly in mind the fact that during these years it was with England more than with any other land outside the Scandinavian group that Norway maintained the closest relations in commerce and diplomacy. Traffic with France was almost non-existent. During the twelfth century there seems to have been some trade with Cologne by way of Utrecht and Deventer. But it was not until 1250 that a treaty was made to encourage trade between Lübeck and Norway, and the *Urkundenbücher* of the North German towns do not even mention Norway before the end of the reign of Hákon Hákonarson. In 1276 the Lübeckers were allowed to winter in Bergen, and not till fifty years later did they establish their supremacy there.* We have already seen that intercourse with France and Flanders begins to flourish only about 1300.

What was true of trade was true also of foreign policy. Though Hákon the Old sent gifts to many princes and potentates, it was Henry of England whom, to judge from the frequent record of such presents, he attempted to keep continually supplied with the finest Icelandic falcons. When he made a treaty of alliance with Alfonso the Wise of Castile in 1258, it was with the express proviso that

"it were not against the Swede-king or the Dane-king or the king of England." The laws of his successor Magnus provide for fines in case a sailor breaks his contract abroad. If he does so in Denmark, Götland, or Sweden, the fine is two marks; in Gotland or Småland, four marks; in England, Orkney, Shetland, or the Færoes, eight marks; in Greenland, Iceland, or Russia, thirteen marks or more.* One looks in vain for an enactment regarding Germany, Frisia, Holland, Flanders, or France. The conclusion follows that Magnus Lawmender did not regard the commerce with those countries as of much consequence. Thus late did England still eclipse all other competitors in the markets and the court of Norway.

Another fact of considerable significance for the study of cultural relations between England and Norway is the social standing of many of the men who carried on the commerce. In England, for instance, there was Robert the son of Sunnolf, mayor of Lynn and friend of King John. His father was probably a Scandinavian settler in England, for *-olf* is not an English but a Northern termination. Sunnolf himself seems to have achieved distinction in the town of Lynn, for in the middle ages one of the creeks running through the town, afterwards known as Mill Fleet, was called Sunnolf's Fleet, and a bridge was also called

after him. His son Robert, therefore, must have had the advantages of learning Norwegian in his home and of having a strong paternal backing. We first hear of him in the year 1200, when King John orders the bailiff of Lynn to permit Robert son of Sunnolf to take a cargo of corn to Norway; and for this privilege Robert presents the king with a pair of hawks. In 1206 Robert twice receives a license to take a cargo of corn out of England. In 1212 John writes from Pomfret to the mayor of Lynn directing him to take great care of certain gerfalcons from Norway till they can be sent for. That the mayor of Lynn was no other than Robert appears from an undated deed of land, in which he is referred to as "major Lennae." Robert seems to have made a fortune out of the grain trade with Norway, and left a deed granting his grandson, who later became mayor himself, very considerable estates. To this deed is attached by a twist of red and white silk, a seal of green wax, bearing the device of a spread eagle with two heads and the legend "Sigillum Roberti Filii Sunnolfi." That just before his fatal attack of indigestion John should have found harborage and lavish entertainment at Lynn is perhaps another testimony to the special kindness which he felt for the wealthy mayor and which that worthy exerted himself to repay to the friendless monarch.*

If we find in England one wealthy burgher in royal favor trading with Norway, in Norway we find that trade was not beneath the dignity of princes themselves. According to the *King's Mirror*, the Norwegian manual of courtesy and instruction composed in Hákon's reign, there are four important pursuits in life: those of the Merchant, Courtier, Churchman, and Bonder. The book is written in the form of a dialogue between father and son, and in the first part the profession of Merchant is discussed. The youth wishes advice about trading abroad, "because," he says, "I do not dare to seek the court before I have seen the customs of other men."

The father replies: "Though I have been more of a courtier than a merchant, yet I will not condemn this profession for you, because often the most prominent men choose it. But it is of great moment whether a man be like those who are real merchants, or those who give themselves merchants' names and are only hucksters and frauds who buy and sell deceitfully." He proceeds to instruct the young man about the education necessary for the profession. Above all he must know the law. Languages also are necessary. "If you wish a thorough education, you must acquire all languages, but especially Latin and Romance, because these tongues go farthest. Nevertheless, do not cease to cherish your native speech."

The book contains also chapters on astrology, physical geography, tides, winds, natural wonders, of which a merchant should have knowledge. This Norwegian ideal of the merchant prince was foreign to mediæval Europe, with the notable exception of the commercial oligarchies of Italy.

The old man's advice regarding behavior in a foreign port gives life to our dry documents concerning Norwegian traders at Grimsby, Boston, and Lynn:

> When you are in a market town, or wherever you are, be polite and agreeable; then you will secure the friendship of all good men. Make it a habit to rise early in the morning, and go first and immediately to church wherever it seems most convenient to hear the canonical hours, and hear all the hours and mass from matins on. Join in the worship, repeating such psalms and prayers as you have learned. When the services are over, go out to look after your business affairs. If you are unacquainted with the traffic of the town, observe carefully how those who are reputed the best and most prominent merchants conduct their business. You must also be careful to examine the wares that you buy before the purchase is finally made, to make sure that they are sound and flawless. And whenever you make a purchase, call in a few trusty men to serve as witnesses as to how the bargain was made.
>
> You should keep occupied with your business till breakfast or, if necessity demands it, till midday; after that you should eat your meal. Keep your table well provided and set with a white cloth, clean victuals and good drinks. Serve enjoyable meals if you can afford it.

After the meal you may either take a nap or stroll about a little while for pastime and to see what other good merchants are employed with, or whether any new wares have come to the borough which you ought to buy. On returning to your lodgings, examine your wares, lest they suffer damage after coming into your hands. If they are found to be injured and you are about to dispose of them, do not conceal the flaws from the purchaser: show him what the defects are and make such a bargain as you can; then you cannot be called a deceiver. Also put a good price on your wares, though not too high, and yet very near what you see can be obtained; then you cannot be called a foister.*

The English Record Office affords us the names of several Norwegian nobles who were in a position to apply directly to the English crown for passports and letters of protection. Duke Skúli several times took out a safe-conduct. In 1225 *Lendrmaðr* John Steel, one of Hákon's most powerful nobles, had license from Henry III to come to England as "merchant of Norway" with his ships, goods, chattels, and merchandise. Ten years later we hear of another mighty *lendr maðr*, Ivar "Nose," as leaving England in midwinter with retinue, horses, and goods. Government officials, bishops, and abbots sailed in person as merchants, while the archbishop and even the king sent their own private ships on trading voyages to English ports.

That these men of rank should have taken an interest in the arts and literature of England was

but natural, and doubtless they had much to do with the importation of Anglo-Norman culture in Hákon's reign. In fact, in the case of one Norwegian noble who conducted negotiations with England and Scotland before the death of the Maid of Norway, we have written testimony that he acted as transmitter of a Carolingian romance to the North. This diplomat, Baron Bjarni Erlingsson of Bjarköy, took back with him to Norway in 1287 a romance in Middle English, now lost, and had it translated into Norwegian.*

Originally a *lendr maðr*, Bjarni was one of those dubbed with the English title of Baron at the Concordat of Tönsberg in 1277. At least five of his diplomatic visits to Great Britain are recorded, covering the three decades from 1281 to 1312. At the death of King Magnus in 1280, Bjarni was one of the most powerful men in Norway. During the minority of Erik he engaged in a bitter struggle with the clergy to wrest from the church certain concessions given by Magnus, winning for the mild boy-king the undeserved nickname of Priest-hater. In 1280 we find him in Norway signing a covenant with English delegates to surrender Guy, son of Simon de Montfort, who was supposed to have fled to Norway. The following year Bjarni went to Scotland as one of the mission who arranged the marriage of young Erik to Margaret,

daughter of Norway's old enemy, Alexander III. Bjarni took the oaths in the king's name at Roxburgh. In 1284, after the death of the Scottish heir, Bjarni and Vidkunn his brother, came to Edward I and renewed with him the trade treaty of 1269. The treaty was drawn up on July 20, at Carnarvon, where Edward then held court, and where his son, later Edward II, had just been born. Perhaps even then Edward cherished the plan of marrying the boy to Margaret. On March 25, 1285, after their return to Norway, Vidkunn wrote from Bergen a short and polite letter to King Edward, thanking him for the hospitality that he and his brother had enjoyed. The winter of 1286, after the death of Alexander III, was spent by Bjarni in Scotland, attending to the Princess Margaret's interests and assuring her the crown. In the exciting years that followed, though commissions crossed the North Sea continually, we do not hear of Bjarni; perhaps he was needed at home. In 1294, however, we find Edward I granting him safe-conduct to come to England on the affairs of King Erik. Three years afterward Edward issued similar letters for a commission, headed by Bjarni, which Erik intended to send to England. As late as 1312, the year of the fatal trade breach between England and Norway, this seasoned negotiator appears at Inverness, now as plenipotentiary of

Hákon V, composing with King Robert Bruce (brother of the queen-widow of Norway) the trouble suffered by the merchants of St. Andrews at Norwegian hands, and renewing the treaty of Perth (July 2, 1266), by which Scotland agreed to pay annually one hundred marks sterling for Man and the Hebrides. On March 23, 1313, at Kirkwall in the Orkneys, Bjarni signed a quittance to Robert Bruce for the yearly payment for 1312 and the five years previous. This was Baron Bjarni's last mission. After his return to Norway in this year, the venerable diplomat ended his days, in prosperous content, if may judge from his will (long preserved in the Norse archives), which leaves rich presents to cloisters and churches, as well as many bequests to relatives and prominent Norwegians. Of special interest to us is the following clause: "My gold girdle, which the great Edward, king of England, gave me, give I to Lady Gyrrede, my brother's wife." *

The career of this accomplished diplomat, who brought back with him at least one romance of chivalry to Norway, is an excellent commentary upon his distinguished predecessors, the brilliant array of envoys and merchant princes who crossed the North Sea in the reign of Hákon the Old. We have seen that commerce in Norway during that regin, as later in the Italian cities, was not beneath

the dignity of a scholar and gentleman. And the analogy of Florence and Venice may be pressed still farther. The merchant princes of Florence who visited Byzantium had their eyes open to something more precious than barter. Trade but cleared the way for the passage of Greek culture to Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Niccolo de' Niccoli (*d.* 1437), son of a great Florentine merchant, gave up dealing in merchandise in order to collect his eight hundred manuscripts. Greeks were invited to Italy to interpret their classics; Manuel Chrysoloras, a Byzantine of noble birth, sent by the Greek emperor first as a political envoy to Venice and Florence, was induced partly by Niccolo's agency to come again in 1396 to fill the Greek chair in the University of Florence. Among his pupils, "Giovanni Aurispa, on his return from Byzantium in 1423, brought with him two hundred and thirty-eight codices, while Guarino of Verona and Francesco Filelfo both arrived in Italy heavily laden."

In later chapters we shall look for similar results in Norway. Bjarni Erlingsson is in some measure a parallel to Niccolo de' Niccoli. Crossing the sea as an envoy in 1286, he took back with him an English manuscript and had it translated into Norse. In Matthew Paris, the historian who went to Hákon as a "special friend," we have,

perhaps, an English Chrysoloras. The Norwegians who visited England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries returned with something more than flour and wine: they carried home chivalric ideas that changed the character of the Norwegian court, and they bore from England manuscripts (in Latin or Anglo-Norman or Middle English), of the best mediæval literature, to be translated into the vernacular of the North.

CHAPTER III

The Clergy

> While the abbey was vacant, Augustine, archbishop of Norway, tarried with us, residing in the abbot's house. — Jocelin of Brakelond

IN any study of intellectual relations between mediæval peoples, one must deal largely with the Church. In poetry, romance, and history, in fresco and architecture, no less than in doctrine and debate, the clergy were the preservers of the old, the interpreters of the new, and the missionaries of art from one land to another. The oldest Irish texts are found, far from their homeland, in the monasteries of the Alps. In the North the clergy served as conductors for the currents of thought that connected Scandinavia and the British Isles. The earliest historical treatise preserved in Scandinavia was written by an English priest living in Denmark. The first recorded translation of a romance of chivalry into the Norse was the work of a monk. In the abbeys of Iceland were written down many of the sagas of pagan times. In the libraries of monasteries and cathedrals Scandinavian clerks deposited the illuminated

vellums that they brought home from their visits to England.

The Scandinavians were slow to forswear the worship of Odin and Thor. Two centuries elapsed after the vikings came in contact with Western Christendom before the public assemblies of Norway were ready, even at the point of Olaf Tryggvason's sword, to adopt the Christian faith. In the middle of the tenth century, when King Hákon the Good inadvertently crossed himself at meat, a tactful friend saved the situation by declaring to the murmuring retainers that their lord had made the sign of Thor's hammer. When William the Conqueror at Hastings reaffirmed papal Catholicism in England, the pagan gods were still being worshipped in Sweden at their temple of Uppsala. But when the Northern peoples did at length accept the new faith, they adopted it with singular unanimity. Thus in the year 1000, the Icelandic Althing legislated in favor of Christianity for the whole island.

Long before the first missionary crossed the border, fragments of Christian thought penetrated to the North by means of returning raiders and traders. In the poetry and architecture of pagan Scandinavia we must never be surprised to discover Catholic influences. But it was the strangeness of pious legend, the glamour of cross and

candle, that impressed the rude Norseman, not the spirit of asceticism or of devotion, so foreign to his temperament. A viking would allow himself to be baptized in every land he visited, not merely for diplomatic reasons, but also for the novelty of the experience. There is a story of a pirate who objected to his baptismal robes, on one occasion, on the ground that he had always before been given spotless linen, but this time only a rag. Centuries later, when the North was Christian, the glitter of the mass in Saint Sophia in Constantinople became, in the eyes of the Scandinavians, a greater attraction even than the wonders of Rome.

The first missionary to Scandinavia of whom we hear was the Anglo-Saxon Willibrod (658–739), who visited the Danish king and was well received, but returned without making converts. Subsequent missionary efforts in Sweden and Denmark emanating from Germany were spectacular rather than intimate. The abiding interpretation of Christian living was destined to come to these two countries, as well as to western Scandinavia, from England.

Denmark *

The outstanding event in the Danish church during the tenth century was the baptism of King Harald Blacktooth, by a German, about 960. On the famous runic stone at Jellinge, erected by

Harald for his father, King Gorm, he styles himself "that Harald who conquered all Denmark and Norway, and made the Danes Christians." It is natural to imagine that after this event Denmark was overrun with German prelates. Yet this was not the case. Except for one group of calendars from Lund, from the second half of the twelfth century, no strong influence of the shadow of Ansgar or the crozier of Bremen upon Danish religious life or thought can be observed until the second half of the fourteenth century.

The steady stream of trade and conquest from Denmark to England, in the ninth, the tenth, and the first half of the eleventh century, rendered an Anglo-Saxon influence inevitable. It is from institutions and from the technical language of the Danish ritual that we must judge most, for the records give only occasionally the names of Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Danes who labored as missionaries in Denmark. The Danes derived at least one church feast, Bolsmess, from the English. From them, too, they took the custom of sending "Peter's Pence" yearly to Rome. They manifested a great affection for Anglo-Saxon saints. Churches along the seacoast were named after the English patron of sailors, St. Clement. To Saint Botulf were dedicated six Danish churches and one abbey. Other English saints who figure in Denmark

may point to a later date — Alban, Bede, Oswald, Edmund, Berginus, Egwin, and John of Beverly.

When King Svend (985–1014) built the cathedral at Roskilde, he called an Englishman, Godebald, for its first bishop. It was naturally in the reign of Cnut the Great (1018–1035), that the relations between the Danish and English churches became closest. Adam of Bremen, writing half a century later, admits that Cnut brought many English bishops to Denmark. For a time it seemed likely that Denmark would come under the see of Canterbury. The issue was raised when Cnut sent out to the see of Roskilde one Gerbrand, who had been consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury (1022). On the way to his see through Germany, he was imprisoned in Bremen by the jealous German archbishop. Eventually, however, Cnut came to a complete reconciliation with the archbishop as to the latter's prerogative over Danish bishops, and Gerbrand was allowed to proceed on his way. Throughout Cnut's reign prelates passed constantly between the two countries for study or on official errands.

The bond thus established was not broken even after the Danish kings ceased to rule England. In the city of Odense, on the island of Fyn, midway between Jutland and Sjælland, the light of English culture burned steadily for a century or more.

The church there claimed possession of some relics of St. Oswald, and to these King Cnut the Saint (1080–1086) added a shrine containing relics of the protomartyr of the English, St. Alban. In the presence of these remains, King Cnut himself won martyrdom on the tenth of July, 1086, when he, his brothers, and seventeen faithful retainers were slain at the altar by his rebellious subjects. Although the revolt against Cnut was a popular one, yet within fifteen years after his death he was canonized and became the patron saint of the Danish people. This reversal of sentiment seems to have been brought about by the English clergy of Odense, to whom Cnut appeared not as oppressor but as martyr. The earliest account of his death, an inscription on a metal plate at Odense, contained, in the list of courtiers who died in his defence, at least four Danish names appearing not in native Scandinavian spelling but changed according to the sound-laws by which Northern names were refashioned into Anglo-Saxon. Obviously the inscription was the work of an Englishman. The same seems to have been the case with the fuller account of Cnut's death, written at the time of his elevation (1095). Between 1119 and 1124, an Odense priest, an Englishman named Ailnoth, formerly from Canterbury, who had been in Denmark for about twenty-four years, com-

posed a complete history of the martyrdom, written, like the preceding, in Latin. It is the earliest considerable piece of prose literature preserved to us from Scandinavia.

The breviaries of Odense mention among other English saints, Edmund, Berginus, and Egwin. The last was the founder of Evesham Abbey in England, the mother house of Odense. It was at the suggestion of the English bishop of Odense that King Erik Ejegod ("Evergood," 1095–1103) sent to William Rufus for monks to found a Benedictine abbey. The English king turned to the abbot of Evesham, and from that abbey were sent out twelve monks, probably in 1096. The new foundation at Odense was dedicated to Saint Cnut, and in its church his shrine was deposited. An Evesham copybook preserves three letters relating to the Odense house. Two of them prescribe that the election of prior shall be confirmed by the mother monastery, and that deaths shall be reported from house to house, the names of deceased brothers being entered in the martyrology. The third is a letter from Valdemar the Great (1157–1182), in which he addresses an open appeal to all abbots, priors, and men bound by rule in England, calling on them to send helpers over the sea to raise the Danish church from degradation. Finally, a damaged Evesham calendar remembers St. Cnut under date of July 10.

In 1131 the Danes slaughtered their second princely saint, Earl Cnut (son of Erik Ejegod), who is best known by his English title, Lavard. The earliest account of his passion (before 1138), like that of Saint Cnut the King, was written by an Englishman, one Robert of Ely.

After the middle of the century the Cistercian order spread rapidly in Denmark. Eskil, archbishop of Lund, who furthered the cause, was a personal friend of Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), and this order was, for the most part, introduced from France. The English branch, however, contributed its share. The Benedictine monastery of Sorö, on Sjælland, founded by the Hvides, the family of the great Absalon, was converted by him, in 1161, into a Cistercian abbey. It became the most influential of Cistercian foundations in Denmark. The second abbot, Simon, was an Englishman, and he presided over the house for twenty-three years, from 1164 until 1188. He was followed by an Englishman, Gaufred, abbot from 1188 till 1214. In Sorö, another English Cistercian, Briennus, who had been first abbot of Om, ended his days. Sorö was one of Archbishop Absalon's favorite resorts, and he died in its seclusion, in 1201. His will, witnessed by the English abbot, directs his secretary, Saxo, to return to Sorö, two books that Absalon had lent him. There is little

reason to doubt that this secretary was Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote his *Historia Danica* at Absalon's suggestion. If he lived in Sorö, he wrote in association with Englishmen, under influences which, as we shall see later, are reflected in his work. Here he could look out upon that lake, frequented now by swans and surrounded by beechwoods, and walk in the paths beloved to this day by the boys of Sorö School.

The cult of Thomas à Becket found immediate acceptance in Denmark. It will be remembered that Thomas was murdered in 1170 and canonized in 1173. In the account of Becket's miracles written by William of Canterbury before the end of the century, we read of two miracles performed by the English saint in Denmark, namely the launching of a Slesvig merchant's ship, and the healing of a canon of Lund named Svend. The cathedral of Lund contained two altars to Saint Thomas. There was also a guild of Saint Thomas in the city of Lund, and there were altars in the cathedrals of Ribe, Roskilde, and Aarhus. A baptismal font in Skåne is adorned with scenes from Becket's death, executed in the thirteenth century. Literary memorials are numerous.

The rules of the Franciscan order, confirmed in 1223, spread within a decade to England and Denmark. In 1245 the Danish archbishop, Jacob Er-

lendson, attended the church meeting at Lyons at which two leading Englishmen were present — the author, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and the noted Franciscan, Adam Marsh. Later the archbishop sent a clerk, Jacob, to England to beg that Franciscans come to Denmark. Meanwhile Danish students were continually meeting Englishmen in Paris. The Danes were enrolled under the English Nation, and toward the end of the thirteenth century a college was founded for them in "the English Street."

But French influence upon the Danish church had been growing for some time. It is probable that as early as the second half of the twelfth century the French imprint was stronger than the English. Throughout the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century it was the prevailing religious influence in the land. The white-cowled vegetarians from Prémontré came to Denmark direct from France, early in the twelfth century, within twenty years of the order's foundation. A stream of French culture followed also the introduction of the Cistercian order. Danish missals, pontificals, and saints' lives bear witness to French origin.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, French influence, in its turn, gave place to German. For this change we must place the responsi-

bility on the establishment of the German universities.

Sweden *

The foreign relations of the church in Sweden were practically the same as those in Denmark. It must be remembered that what is now the richest and most populous province of Sweden, Skåne, was then Danish territory and under the diocese of Lund. Foreign missions passed over Lund into Sweden, and that country received also a few English influences by way of Norway.

From early in the eleventh century we hear of several English missionaries in Sweden, but our facts rest more upon tradition than upon documents. Olaf Tryggvason's court bishop, Sigfrid, went after Olaf's death (1000) to Denmark and thence to Sweden, dying at Veksjö. Sigfrid of Glastonbury, who was sent out by Cnut the Great to be bishop of Nidaros in Norway, removed, on the fall of Saint Olaf (1030), to Skara in Sweden. His kinsman Osmund was also established in Sweden, declaring himself independent of the see of Bremen. He retired, however, to England, and died in Ely cloister (between 1066 and 1071). Adam of Bremen mentions an English missionary named Wolfred. Under Cnut the Great, Sweden was closely linked with the other Scandinavian countries and with England, Cnut exercising a sort

of imperial prerogative over Sweden. The Swedish king, converted by Sigfrid, received the nickname of "Scot king," and this may have been because he instituted the English custom of Peter's Pence.

Late in the century, the Swedish church secured a saint for its calendar, St. David, an Englishman who is said to have been bishop of Vesterås. Another Englishman, St. Eskil, was martyred (1081) for protesting against pagan sacrifice, on the site of Eskilstuna. Thus Sweden's first saints were English born. At the end of this century, or early in the following, two bishops of the West Götar, Rikulv and Hervard, were Englishmen. In 1152 an English legate from the Pope, Nicholas Breakspeare, after establishing an archbishopric in Norway, went into Sweden to do the same. But the Swedes and the Götar could not agree, so Breakspeare left the decision as to the location of the new pontifical see with the Archbishop of Lund, appointing him "primate of Sweden." In 1164 was consecrated the first archbishop of Uppsala.

There are no records of English monastic foundations in Sweden, as in Denmark and Norway. In 1213 the Cistercian monastery of Alvastra was made mother to the abbey of Lysa in Norway, founded more than fifty years before by monks from Fountains. As Lysa still kept in constant

touch with England, we may presume a stream of English culture by way of Lysa to Alvastra.

Like Denmark, Sweden turned, in the twelfth and the following centuries, far more to France than to England. In time Swedish students in Paris became more numerous than Danish. They had three, perhaps four, colleges. From the records of 1329 we can account for thirty-five students from Sweden as against nine Danes. At the end of the fourteenth century, the Swedish church, like all the intellectual world of Scandinavia, drew more closely to Germany than to other countries.

Norway and its Colonies *

The conversion of Norway and the history of its church in the middle ages are markedly different from those of Denmark or Sweden. Norway was christianized from England, and the English influence remained predominant until after 1290. The terminology and peculiar institutions of the Norwegian church were borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon. The church in Norway was established by kings educated in England, and by Anglo-Saxon bishops. Early missionary expeditions from Germany and Denmark were confined to some vague attempts along Christiania Fjord and the southern coast, and those from France to the establishment of one or two "daughters" of Prémontré.

King Hákon the Good, who reigned from 935 until 961, was fostered at the Christian court of Athelstan. After he became king, he sent to England for a bishop and other teachers, and made several ineffectual attempts to turn Norway from heathendom. This task, however, was left for King Olaf Tryggvason (995–1000), who employed coercive methods worthy of Mahomet. Olaf also had received Christian instruction in England, and an English bishop was with him in Norway. The North was evidently ripe unto harvest, for Olaf could boast that in the five years of his reign he converted not Norway alone, but the Norse isles in the western seas — Shetland, the Orkneys, the Færoes, and Iceland.

King Olaf Haraldsson (c. 1016–1030) had also been baptized in England. "He had with him," says Adam of Bremen, "many bishops and priests from England, by whose admonition and doctrine he himself prepared his heart for God, and to whose guidance he committed the people subject to him." King Olaf was for many reasons unpopular, and met his death at last on the battlefield at the hands of rebels and Danes. Now there followed an instance of the phenomenon repeated, as we saw, in Denmark, at the end of the century. An English bishop, Grimkell, disinterred the body, recorded its miracles, and pronounced Olaf a saint.

Thus, through English intervention, the unpopular king became the most popular saint in the North. In England, too, Olaf was well-known. The sagas tell of an English knight, who, when all other cures had failed, made the long pilgrimage to Olaf's shrine at Trondhjem. In England there were fifteen churches dedicated to St. Olaf, and several windows from the later middle ages are still preserved in English churches, depicting the miracles of St. Olaf. He had a place also in Scottish and English ritual.*

The first monastery in Norway, the Benedictine foundation at Nidarholm, off Trondhjem, is said by Matthew Paris, who reformed its finances in 1248, to have been established by Cnut the Great in 1028. King Harald Harðráði (1047–1066) also maintained English connections, sending his bishops to be consecrated in England in spite of the protests of their technical primate, the archbishop of Bremen. King Olaf the Peaceful (1066–1093) established three bishoprics, Nidaros, Bergen, and Oslo, and to these Sigurd the Crusader added a fourth at Stavanger. The close connection between the English and the Norwegian church at this time is emphasized by the choice of an Englishman Reinald as the first bishop and by the consecration of the new cathedral to an English saint, Swithin. Furthermore, the nave of Stavanger

cathedral, begun about 1127, is a three-aisled basilica in the Anglo-Norman style, with ten large round piers.

The Cistercian order was carried over from England to Norway about 1146. Bishop Sigurd of Bergen was on a visit to Fountains Abbey at the time, and became so enthusiastic over the new rule of the Cistercians that he determined to establish a cloister in his own see. Abbot Henry supplied him with monks from Fountains, who founded a monastery, St. Mary's at Lysa,* twenty miles south of Bergen, on what is now called Lyse Fjord. The ruins of the cloister buildings, even today, suggest a flourishing institution, and we have every reason to believe that its abbots and monks played no small part in the interchange of thought and literature between England and Norway. The same, to a somewhat less degree, is true of the second Cistercian monastery in Norway, another St. Mary's, on the island of Hovedö, off the harbour of Christiania. Hovedö was the daughter of Kirkstead in Lincolnshire. Both Lysa and Hovedö maintained their connection with England. The first abbot of Lysa returned in his old age to Fountains, and the abbey remained under the immediate personal supervision of Fountains until 1213. There is no reason to doubt that other Norwegian cloisters were founded by Englishmen. The mon-

astery of Selja, for instance, was dedicated to the English protomartyr, Alban.

At the middle of the twelfth century (1152) the Norwegian church, originally founded by Englishmen, was reorganized by an Englishman, under its own metropolitan see. For this purpose Pope Eugenius III sent Nicholas Breakspeare, then Cardinal Archbishop of Albano and destined later to become the only English pope, Hadrian IV (1154–1159). Since 1103, the archbishop of Lund had been primate of the North. The new see of Nidaros (Trondhjem), established by Breakspeare, embraced eleven bishoprics, five in Norway, two in Iceland, one each in Greenland, Sodor and Man, the Orkneys, and the Færoes. The fifth Norwegian bishopric was set up during Breakspeare's visit, with its seat at Hamar — the only inland diocese. It is likely that Breakspeare himself laid the cornerstone of the cathedral. He promised to send artisans to construct the church, and these were, no doubt, his own countrymen, for the basilica raised at Hamar was of pure Anglo-Norman design.

The archbishop whom Breakspeare consecrated died in 1157, and was succeeded by the mighty Eystein (1157–1188), the contemporary of Becket, Richard, and Baldwin at Canterbury. He was pontiff of western Scandinavia for thirty-one years. Eystein is of the utmost importance to our

study, not only because he spent three of the most important years of his life in England, but because he was the patron of Norwegian architecture and literature, and was himself an author. Eystein and Becket were kindred spirits; in fact, they were friends. In a letter to the bishop of Meaux, Becket writes: "Welcome, if it please you, the bearers of these presents, Master Godfrey and Master Walter, messengers of our reverend brother, the Archbishop of Trondhjem, with the same kindness with which your grace has been wont to receive us and ours." The destinies of the two archbishops were different in that Thomas lost his life, Eystein only his cause. Eystein created a king, Magnus, and asserted the prerogative of the church by making the crown of Norway subject to his own see. But he met his match in the great soldier-demagogue, King Sverrir. After a long and bitter struggle, Eystein and Magnus were decisively defeated in 1180. Then the archbishop took refuge in England.

Long before his exile in England, Eystein showed his study of English architecture in the erection of Trondhjem Cathedral, the most magnificent piece of stone masonry in Norway. A church had been raised about 1077 by King Olaf the Peaceful to contain the shrine of St. Olaf. It was a simple, one-aisled building, with choir and nave, and re-

mained unaltered for about eighty years, until the archbishopric was founded. But immediately after Eystein's return from Rome with the pallium of his office, in 1161, he began to increase the structure to proportions worthy of a metropolitan see. It is more than likely that Eystein visited England on his homeward journey and engaged the services of English architects and artisans. At all events, the new Romanesque transept which he added to the older church, is patterned on English models. "The Romanesque portion of Nidaros cathedral," says a Norwegian authority on architecture, Professor Dietrichson, "shows no influence from the south, but exclusively from England."

Eystein fled to England in the summer of 1180, and returned to Norway three years later, in the summer of 1183. During this time we know his whereabouts only for the nine months that he lived at Bury St. Edmunds in the vacant residence of the late abbot. Eystein's coming was regarded by the English clerics and monkish chroniclers as an event in history. Roger of Hoveden and Benedict of Peterborough relate that, "unwilling to subject himself to Sverrir the Priest, he left his see and came to England, and excommunicated Sverrir." William of Newburgh refers to him as "vir magnus."

Eystein arrived when Henry was absent in France, but he probably greeted the king upon his landing and besought his hospitality. The king, contrite for Becket's death, seems to have become especially gracious to visiting archbishops, and granted Eystein's request. At that time the abbacy at Bury St. Edmunds had been vacant for eight months. Evidently he thought the abbot's house an excellent place to lodge the nation's guest, for on the ninth of August, twelve days after Henry's landing, Eystein took up his residence in the vacant mansion, receiving ten shillings a day by order of the king.

Fortunately, the sojourn of the Norwegian archbishop at Bury is recorded by that chatty Boswell of the twelfth century, Jocelin of Brakelond, a monk of the great abbey. Jocelin mentions Eystein in the same breath in which he narrates the gossip of the monks during the vacancy. "While the abbey was vacant," he says, "Augustine, archbishop of Norway, tarried with us, residing in the abbot's house, and receiving by command of the king ten shillings a day from the funds of the abbey."

We cannot but regret that Carlyle, in his picture of Bury in *Past and Present*, did not add to Jocelin's account a reconstruction of Eystein's life at Old Bury — how over a bottle of Bordeaux he weighed

with the prior the latter's chances of election to the abbacy; how he nodded in passing to Bozzy Jocelin or Samson the sub-sacrist; how he spent long hours in the abbey library, and weeks at his own desk, writing here, perhaps, his *Passion of St. Olaf*, a copy of which was preserved for centuries at Fountains.

According to the balance sheets preserved to us in the Pipe Rolls, the corrodies allowed Eystein "by letter of the king" amounted to £94 10s. and covered 189 days, from August 9, 1181, to February 14, 1182, when they ceased. On the following day, according to Jocelin, the convent received a letter from the king directing them to send to him one prior and twelve delegates with power to elect a new abbot. Two days later the thirteen set forth. Now Eystein is not mentioned by Jocelin as a member of the cavalcade, but Jocelin does say that the Norwegian archbishiop "was of considerable assistance in obtaining for us our free election, bearing witness of what was well, and publicly declaring before the king what he had seen and heard." The vote was taken in the king's presence, at Waltham, on February 22, and, partly (we may believe) as result of Eystein's efforts, Henry gave the delegates their free choice of Samson the sub-sacrist for their new abbot.

For himself, Eystein secured from Henry II a license permitting the Archbishop of Nidaros to export each year from England a shipload of grain duty-free. This privilege was renewed by Richard, John, and Henry III. Where Eystein stayed during the remainder of his English visit, a year and four months, we have no inkling. The king sailed for France early in March, and did not return until two years later. There is no doubt that some of Eystein's leisure was devoted to the study of English architecture, and there is every probability that he took English masons home with him to work upon his cathedral. Early in the summer of 1183, according to the sagas, he returned to Norway, made his peace with Sverrir and went north to his see. Possibly some of the churches dedicated to St. Edmund in Norway, such as Vannelven and Lurö, are grateful souvenirs of his stay at Bury. He lived in retirement from politics until his death in 1188, devoting his restless energies to revising the national law and to adding to Trondhjem Cathedral.

The architectural style of Norway from 1066 until 1184 is defined as "Anglo-Norman." In 1184 begins the Gothic period, the new mode being introduced by Eystein on his return from England. Eystein tore down Olaf the Peaceful's structure, and built on its foundations the Gothic high choir

and long choir which stand to-day. Though we have no record of Eystein's visiting the shrine of St. Thomas, it is one of the places in England that he could hardly have avoided. Now just at the time of his English residence, the French architect, Guillaume de Sens, was building the first Gothic structure raised in England, the eastern portion of Canterbury Cathedral. Eystein's own choir and transepts were designed in the new style that he must have seen at Canterbury. This was only thirty years after the completion of the first Gothic church in France, and only nine years after the introduction of Gothic into England. The messages of art were not slower to reach Norway in those days than in our own; only they came from England, while to-day they travel direct from France. Gothic architecture flourished in Norway under Eystein's and Sverrir's successors. In 1248 work was begun on the long nave of Trondhjem, which adhered closely to the Early English style. This portion of the cathedral, destroyed long since, is being reconstructed in the English tradition. Norwegian sculpture, also, from the first half of the thirteenth century, shows either the hands of Englishmen or those of careful Norwegian students of British art.

In the century after Eystein the records of clerical journeys between Norway and England come

so thick and fast that we shall not have space to dwell upon each. This does not mean that the two churches became any more intimate in the thirteenth century than they were in the twelfth. It is largely an accident due to the better preservation of English records. These documents rarely reveal to us the spiritual incentive to the voyage. Norwegian clerks are named in the English Rolls because they figure as merchants or diplomats; church business and private affairs demanded no mention. For example, John Steel, whom we have noticed as securing in 1225 a license to come to England as a merchant, went, according to the saga, on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and had dealings with the newly elected archbishop of Nidaros and other Norwegian priests in England. A prelate who commanded his own ship naturally defrayed expenses by taking a load of fish to Lynn or Yarmouth, to be replaced by wheat, wine or cloth. At the same time the king often entrusted him with a despatch. Accordingly, his name is recorded in the Rolls, but not his church errand.

During the thirteenth century the bishops of all five Norwegian dioceses were coming in person to England or sending members of their cathedral chapters. The archbishops of Nidaros continued to enjoy the privilege given "the church of Nidaros, the archbishop and his successors, every year,

whether fertile or not, to load one ship in England with corn and provisions, without challenge or exaction, and to take it to Norway to his church." In 1226 a ship belonging to the archbishop was robbed at Hull, and five letters to the sheriff of Norfolk testify to the eagerness of the English crown to secure the conviction of the guilty parties. In 1316, after the commercial rupture, the men of Elavus (Eilif Arnason), archbishop of Nidaros (1311–1332), obtained royal leave to trade in England for one year. The Norwegian pontiffs went to Rome to receive the pallium, and, until 1290, the English route was the favorite one to the south. Archbishop Guttorm (1215–1224) chose this route in 1215, securing from King John a pass for himself and his retinue, both coming and returning. Peter of Housesteads (1224–1226), the next archbishop, returned by way of England, and spent some time there during the summer of 1225. The sees of Hamar, Oslo, and Stavanger also maintained relations with England.

For Bergen the English connection was of an intimate character. We have heard how Bishop Sigurd of Bergen studied at Fountains in the middle of the twelfth century. From 1194 to 1216 Bergen actually had a bishop of English blood, Martin, formerly chaplain to King Sverrir. "Martin," says the saga, "was English on both sides." In

1208 King John gave him a writ of protection to come to England with his property and his retinue. The high clerics of Bergen often served as ambassadors to the London court, spending the winter well-fed at the capital, and returning with presents to their king. In 1309 one of the canons of Bergen was studying in England, and another was just setting out on a Canterbury pilgrimage.

The Norwegian monasteries founded by English monks continued their English affiliations. Cnut's foundation at Nidarholm had business relations with the Caursin bankers in London in the first half of the thirteenth century. When these became seriously entangled, the famous Matthew Paris of St. Albans was sent in 1248 to straighten them out. As for Hovedö Abbey, its ships are several times mentioned in the English Rolls from the first half of the century. For at least a part of this period its abbot was an Englishman, Lawrence, who was sent, in 1246, by Hákon Hákonarson to the pope to arrange for Hákon's coronation. In this case, at any rate, an English abbey continued intimate relations with her offspring for at least a hundred years. Even closer was the bond which joined Lysa to England. Being near Bergen, it shared the English interests of that city. Its abbots and priors served as ambassadors between the courts of Bergen and Lon-

don until the end of the thirteenth century. The original convent of Lysa, it will be remembered, consisted of Englishmen, and the Anglo-Norman names of many of the monks during the thirteenth century show that England continued to supply Lysa with Cistercians. We may mention especially Abbot Richard, who, in the seventies and eighties, acted with power-of-attorney, not for the Norwegian crown, but for Edward I of England.

The King's Mirror indicates that church dignitaries were in demand as ambassadors: — "If the king orders a clerk or an abbot or a bishop of his realm on an embassy to foreign kings or to the pope, if the king insists, he who is called is obliged to go, unless he wishes to incur the king's displeasure and be driven from the realm." We saw in the last chapter how often functionaries of the church were chosen for errands of state. The English Rolls mention at least sixteen clerical embassages from Norway between 1215 and 1309. English clerics, in their turn, served as diplomats in Norway, sometimes in the employ of the Norwegian instead of the English king. From 1234 and 1238 we have English letters of protection given "Richard of St. Albans, envoy of the King of Norway," and in 1236 King Henry presented him with a fine horse. Of Matthew Paris, perhaps most important of these clerical envoys, I shall

have more to say later. Disputes over the Hebrides furnished occasion for sending church dignitaries from Scotland to Norway, and about 1290, when Margaret, the Maid of Norway, was coming to rule Scotland, the clergy played important rôles. English clerks, also, were employed as secretaries by the Norwegian kings: for example, Martin, under King Sverrir, and Geoffrey, a Yorkshire clerk, under King Erik. The latter returned to England in 1293, bearing letters of recommendation to King Edward.

We can only infer the presence of Norwegian students in English schools. The Rolls are, of course, silent on this score. If we had the lists of matriculations at Oxford and Cambridge for the thirteenth century, we should, no doubt, find many Norwegian names. Two accounts from Iceland show the respect in which English schools were held in the North. About 1160, Thorlak, an Icelander who became bishop of Skálholt, studied at Lincoln. He went abroad, says the saga, and "came to Paris, and was there at school as long as he thought needful to get the knowledge which he wished to get there. Thence he came to England, and was at Lincoln, and there he gat, moreover, great knowledge, and fraught with blessings both to himself and others." The next bishop of Skálholt, Paul (d. 1211), a nephew of Thorlak, likewise

studied in England in his youth. "He went south to England, and was there at school, and got great learning there, so that there was scarce any example of any man's having got so deep and so much knowledge in the like time. And so when he came back to Iceland, he surpassed all other men in his courtliness and his learning, and in making of verse, and in book-lore." As late as 1309, a Bergen church-letter chances to mention that one of the canons was at the time in England for study.

This same letter mentions another canon who is setting out to perform his vow to St. Thomas in England. Thomas à Becket became as popular in Norway as in Denmark. The saga of Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, the Icelander (1190–1213), tells an amusing tale: how he was fishing and caught a narwhale which he was unable to land, and offered St. Thomas the tusks for his help. His prayer was answered. Hrafn sailed to Norway and spent the winter. In the spring he voyaged to Canterbury and deposited the tusks at Becket's shrine. In 1229 a Norwegian ship held at Ipswich was ordered released and the passengers who had come to England on a pilgrimage were allowed freely to perform their vow. In 1232 Henry III issued a safe-conduct to Duke Skúli "and those whom he shall bring with him into England to visit on pilgrimage the house of Blessed Thomas the Martyr."

When Hákon Hákonarson, after he had ruled Norway for thirty years, sent to Rome to ask for a papal coronation, the English abbot of Hovedö urged that the pope depute William, cardinal of Sabina, to crown Hákon. The king then, says the saga, "sent ships west to England and to other lands . . . to gather those stores which seemed to him to be most lacking in Norway to welcome the cardinal as he wished." In 1247 the papal legate passed through England on his way to Norway. According to Matthew Paris he assured the English, who thought he had come to rob them, that he merely wished to proceed from Dover to Lynn. At Lynn, however, he stayed three months, secretly enriching himself, and departed in a veritable ark laden with all the luxuries of England. His reception in Norway, the coronation, and the festivities which follow, constitute the most spectacular peaceful event in mediæval Norway. It is amusing to compare the long and glowing accounts of Sturla, Hákon's Icelandic biographer — who represents his sovereign as a munificent prince, and the cardinal as the reluctant recipient of his favors — with the sneers of Matthew Paris, who tells just how much cash the cardinal exacted from Norway. Yet even Matthew testifies to the esteem in which the pope held Hákon. For to the Northern monarch, as we have seen, the pope offered the

throne of Emperor Frederick, an honor which Hákon wisely refused; "and this the said king declared to me, Matthew, who wrote these pages, and attested it with a great oath."

This pardonable confidence was imparted by the Norwegian monarch to his English friend on the occasion of the latter's visit to Norway in 1248. Matthew's voyage must have meant to Norway quite as much as Eystein's meant to England, for Matthew was not only an author and a diplomat, but also an artist. The chief purpose of his visit was to reform the monastery of St. Benedict of Holm. This foundation, long in a bad way, had been abandoned by its abbot, who had signed the house into debt and died. "The prior was then sent," says Matthew, "with one of the brothers accompanying him, and with a sum of three hundred marks, and also bearing letters directed to brother Matthew Paris, begging him to use his diligent endeavors to free them from their debt, and in the end it was happily arranged that the said house should be released on payment of the debt only. After having obtained all writings and instruments by which the convent of Holm was indebted to the Caursins, who were then in London, he returned safely within a year. But although they breathed freely in temporal matters, they were still languishing in a confused state in

spiritual concerns." The cardinal of Sabina, then in Norway, advised them to go to the pope; who asked them whom they would like to have for their adviser. On deliberation they replied: "Your holiness, we have learnt by experience that the monks of our rule are not so well ordered anywhere throughout the whole world, we believe, as in England; nor is there, as we hear from report, any house so well arranged in the kingdom of England as that of St. Alban, the protomartyr of the English. We therefore ask for a certain monk of that house, named Matthew, of whose wisdom and fidelity we have had experience, to inform and instruct us. Besides, he is a most particular friend to our king, and will be able by his means, if he thinks necessary, to subdue any rebels against him." Accordingly, the pope wrote to the abbot of St. Albans, asking him to send Matthew to Norway. "The matter," Matthew continues, "was conducted prosperously, so that the abbot of Holm in Norway continued in peace and prosperity, and the monastic order, which was exposed to such peril in that country, now, by the grace of God, recovered breath, as did also some other monasteries there."

When Matthew was setting out for Norway, Louis IX of France sent by him a letter to the Norwegian king inviting him to share with him

the command of the crusade. Hákon was to captain the fleet, Louis the army. Matthew says that "when the king of Norway—who was a discreet, modest, and learned man — read this letter, he was greatly delighted, and returned thanks to the bearer of it, besides rewarding him with rich and royal presents." Among Hákon's gifts was an *aurifrigium*, or gold embroidery, which Matthew later gave his abbey. Matthew landed in Bergen about the tenth of June, 1248. While he was on shore performing mass and "singing a nautical hymn to return thanks to God after escaping the perils of the sea," a terrific thunder storm arose and a sudden flash of lightning splintered the mast of the ship. "When this circumstance was made known to the king, he, out of his regard for the person who had been on board that ship, ordered a larger and better mast to be supplied it." The author of *Hákonar Saga* describes the accident without mentioning Matthew by name.

It is probable that this was not Matthew's first visit to Norway, for the monks who requested his mission of the pope referred to him as already a friend of Hákon. Nor do we know how long he stayed in Norway. Doubtless he saw much of the country in traveling from Bergen to Trondhjem and to "other monasteries." We find him back again at Winchester in July, 1251.

Meanwhile the churches and cloisters of the islands north and west of Scotland must have enjoyed even closer affiliations with England than did those of the mother country, albeit the records of this connection are not so rich. Orkney remained nominally under the jurisdiction of Nidaros until about 1475, and Sodor and Man until, in 1458, a papal bull made that diocese subject to York. St. Magnus of Orkney spent some time in England in the reign of Henry I, and was well known there after his canonization (1135). The cathedral, dedicated to his memory at Kirkwall in the Orkneys, was patterned directly after Anglo-Norman models. An archdeacon from Shetland, Nicholas, was the envoy of Norway to the English court in the winter and spring of 1221. The Orkney bishop, as well as the bishop of Man and the Hebrides, was sometimes consecrated in York to save the voyage to Trondhjem, the archbishop of Nidaros consenting. The clergy of Man were very friendly also with Furness Abbey. Through the islands, no doubt, a modicum of Anglo-Norman ideas and observances filtered through to the richer soil of Norway and Iceland.

Iceland's communication with England was in general by way of Norway, and the island received in turn the English influences by which Norway was affected. Two or three of the English bishops

whom St. Olaf took to Norway carried their work to Iceland later. At least one of them, Rudolph, returned to England and became abbot of Abingdon. About 1016 Guðlaug, oldest son of Snorri Goði, went to England and became a monk. We have heard how Bishop Thorlak studied at Lincoln. The sagas claim that Thorlak, after his death and sanctification, was reverenced in Scotland and England as well as in the Scandinavian countries. From England they credit him with two miracles. One was performed by a likeness of the sainted bishop set up in a church in Kynn (Lynn?). On the other occasion, merchants in the "English sea" called successfully upon Thorlak to deliver them from the tempest. We have noted Hrafn's pilgrimage to Canterbury with his narwhale tusks. In 1189 we hear of an Icelandic priest, Ingimund, who came to England to trade. About 1195 an Icelander named Marcus went abroad for materials with which to build a church. "In Norway he had good church-wood cut. He went south to Rome; and when he came from the south from Rome, he purchased good bells in England and took them with him to Norway. Afterwards he returned to Iceland with the church-wood and the bells." *

For three hundred years the clergy of Norway maintained affectionate intercourse with the mother

church in England. But with the year 1290 our chronicles approach a swift conclusion. A few visits in the nineties and the first decades of the next century — and that is all. When Bishop Audfinn of Bergen had business in England in 1322, he sent his servants. The last recorded attempt of a Norwegian cleric in the fourteenth century to visit England was in 1336 (or 1337). In that year Abbot Arni of Lysa was seized off the English coast by pirates, and beheaded with all his crew. The good old days of English affiliation were over. In 1338 Bishop Hákon wrote out to Iceland to his friend Bishop Jón of Skálholt, bewailing the fact that wine no longer came from Flanders and England but from Germany only.

In the last chapter we saw how German trade was crowding out the English. But beyond the fact that the Hansa merchants built their own churches in the ports, the German connection does not seem to have affected the church in Norway, or to have drawn Norse clerics in any number to Germany.

It was France which supplanted England as the school for Norse churchmen. Political changes, as we have seen, drew Norway toward France in the last decade of the thirteenth century. Some Norse students there had been on the Continent before that date, but it is not until after 1290 that they

come thick and fast. The sea route between Bergen and Bruges, established about 1300, made connection for student, cleric, or pilgrim easier with the south. In the first half of the fourteenth century many Norwegian churchmen and papal envoys to Norway travelled by this route, often tarrying in Flanders. About 1335 Bruges was a papal subtreasury for the deposit of funds from Norway sent by the bishops of Oslo, Hamar, and Stavanger. In the fourteenth century the popes moved to Avignon, and Flanders, instead of England, became the base for papal dealings with Norway. It is possible to follow, in the first half of the century, a group of Norwegians to their studies in Paris. Among these students — perhaps earlier, in the nineties — was a Bergen friar, Jón Halldórsson, a man of some significance in the history of comparative literature. For after 1332, when he went out to Iceland as bishop of Skálholt, he introduced a body of romantic tales accumulated in his student days in Paris and Bologna; and these tales, originally told in Latin, are many of them still preserved in Icelandic redactions. Yet the Norwegians never attended the University of Paris in such numbers as the Danes and the Swedes. In the year 1329 we can account for at least nine Danish students in Paris, and thirty-four Swedes, but we cannot find a single Norwegian.

The testimony of Norwegian architecture is the same as that of the records of clerical visits. Until 1250 the foreign influences at work in ecclesiastical buildings are almost exclusively English. During the latter half of the century, patterns from France begin to creep in, and are pronounced in the fourteenth century. There is this difference, however, that at no time, not even in the fourteenth century, are the French forms more prevalent than the English. This may be explained by the natural development of English types introduced into the North in the preceding century.

Similar English influences are apparent in the other arts. When King Hákon sent to his royal ally the much prized falcons and elks of the North, King Henry reciprocated by gifts of wrought metal, in which English craftsmen of the thirteenth century excelled. In 1236 Henry III had his jeweler, Walter de Croxton, make a seal like his own for presentation to the king of Norway. In 1251 he employed Edward de Westminster, goldsmith, to make a crown like his own for the same destination. Though neither of these has survived, there does still exist a chalice, probably from the workshop of Nicholas of Hereford; it once belonged to the Premonstratensian abbey of Dragsmark, founded by Hákon. Furthermore, there is

preserved a psalter of English origin which once belonged to Hákon's queen, Margaret.

A leaf of a tabernacle retable from Faaberg, now in the Christiania Museum, exhibits certain marked individual characteristics, distinguishing it from all other painting in Scandinavia. On it appears the figure of St. Peter, done with such delicacy and dexterity of line as we associate with the best Oriental work. The fact that the panel is of oak, not pine, goes far toward proving English provenance. Dr. Lindblom has pointed out the close resemblance in style to the work of the St. Albans school, and Professor Lethaby speaks of the three red dots on the drapery as almost a signature of Matthew Paris. Dating as it does from the middle of the thirteenth century, the tabernacle may well have been brought to Norway by Matthew on his voyage of 1248, and may even be the work of his own hands.

There is much evidence to show that even earlier a school of painters, coming from East Anglia or influenced by the flourishing monastic arts of that district, was settled at or near Bergen. Between 1225 and 1275 this Bergen group produced altarpieces, many of them now collected in the Bergen Museum, representing Christ and the Apostles, the Crucifixion, and the Annunciation. From 1275 on,

though English influences were still strong, French models also began to be felt. Though the coloring is comparatively raw, English vivacity and delicacy of form appear in the scenes of martyrdom and the renderings of the Passion and the Life of the Virgin painted by these Norwegian disciples of southern art.*

Sweden, too, was England's debtor. The beautiful painted ceiling at Dädesjö, besides certain characteristics of Low German art, also betrays English features not only in the treatment but also in the subjects chosen — the legend of St. Stephen, Herod, and the Cock. The fourteenth century paintings at Edshult dealt also with a peculiar English theme — Noah's wife and the secret of the ark, which we find also depicted in Queen Mary's Psalter. Finally the Björsäter panels, now at Stockholm, are a late echo of the St. Albans school, and probably owe their existence to the English colony at Linköping.

While it must, of course, be admitted that England and France supplied both the material and the manner of Scandinavian painting at this period, it is also true that the altar frontals and the impressive panelled interiors of Northern churches show that the native painters carried out with spirit and charm the lessons which they had learned.

The French influence, in turn, yielded to the German at the end of the fourteenth century. Norwegians followed their Danish and Swedish cousins to the new German universities. At that time Norway was already passing into that long lapse of spiritual energy from which the nation emerged only a hundred years ago.

For us the important consideration is that an English influence upon the church in Norway, almost exclusive until the middle of the thirteenth century, predominated until about 1290. In the thirteenth century, and largely in the first half of that century, a great body of foreign literature was translated into Norwegian and Icelandic. A translation from the Latin is not always so easy to diagnose as a piece of architecture; but if we bear in mind the fact that during this period bishops got their corn from England, painters caught their manner from England, monasteries got their abbots from England, we shall generally be safe in predicating that the manuscripts from which these translations were made came from the same source.

CHAPTER IV

Books of Instruction

> Here might be seen throughout all the bishop's household much diligence and industry; some read holy writings, some wrote, some chanted, some learned, some taught.
>
> *Jóns Saga hins Helga*

THERE exists a catalogue of about 1310 enumerating the volumes in the library of Arni, bishop of Bergen.* His collection he divides into three groups: Latin theological works, grammatical treatises (also in Latin), and Norse books. In the first class are such inevitable names as Pope Gregory, Augustine, St. Bernard, Peter of Blois, and Bonaventura. The second group includes, besides more technical works, a poem on the Fall of Troy as a specimen of rhetoric. The third class embraces law books and sagas, one Icelandic and several translated romances, and a saga of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The selection does not begin to cover all the religious and didactic writings which we know from other sources to have stood at the "beddes heed" of many a scholarly ecclesiastic of the North. It indicates, however, well enough the general character of the books which were regarded as indis-

pensable authorities for the acquisition of knowledge. In Norway, and especially in Iceland, the pompous Latin tomes were translated frequently into a vigorous and homely vernacular which would doubtless have horrified their learned authors had they been able to understand so uncouth a language!

In view of the close commercial, political, and religious connections between England and the North on which we have dwelt in the foregoing pages, there must have been contributions from each country to the didactic literature of the other. Because of the prestige and breadth of Angevin culture, England gave more than she received.

The one noteworthy book by a Northerner which seems to have had influence in England is the Latin *Passion of St. Olaf*, written by Archbishop Eystein.* The most complete manuscript was preserved for a time at Fountains Abbey, an institution with peculiar Norwegian affiliations. It is more than likely that the Norwegian prelate visited Fountains in the course of his three years' stay in England. It is a pleasing fancy that he may have left with the house a copy of his work as an acknowledgment of hospitality, and that the surviving thirteenth-century text is an early transcript. It must be confessed that, so far as style goes, Eystein's account of Olaf's martyrdom and

of the miracles wrought by him is perfunctory. What gives a certain personal or historical interest to the narrative is the fact that some of the best miracles are associated with Eystein's beloved cathedral at Trondhjem. To it he refers with pride: "Ego, Augustinus, per voluntatem Dei in ecclesia beati martiris Olaui episcopalem ad tempus sollicitudinem gerens." And with pride he goes on to relate a miracle performed upon himself. During the erection of the building, the architect called upon Eystein for advice. The archbishop accordingly mounted a scaffold. So many others followed him that the structure collapsed and Eystein fell, losing consciousness and breaking his ribs — all, he avers, on account of his sins. It happened that the feast of St. Olaf's nativity was to be celebrated three days later. Eystein naturally chafed under his condition and addressed prayers to his patron. Thereupon he recovered so rapidly that on the holy day he was able to receive the multitude and to preach; and when he actually began his sermon, he found himself perfectly cured. Gratefully the primate adds this personal benefaction to the number of St. Olaf's miracles.

Doubtless Eystein's work made for the persistence of the Olaf cult in England, a veneration accorded to no other Scandinavian saint. In

London alone, in the time of Henry II, there were no less than three churches dedicated to him, and more are recorded from a later date. A sixteenth-century diary gives the following account of the observance of his day in London as late as 1557:

> The same day [July 29], being saint Olave's day, was the church holiday in Silver street [where the parish church was dedicated to Olaf]; And at eight of the clock at night began a stage-play of a goodly matter [perhaps concerned with the saint's life], that continued until twelve at midnight, and then they made an end with a good song.

Another contribution from the North to Anglo-Latin literature is a *Historia Norwegiae*, the manuscript of which was found in Scotland, and which was dedicated to an archdeacon of Wells. It is a book of which neither the archdeacon nor the author, probably an Englishman, had a right to be proud, for its description of Norway and its genealogy of the kings is full of inaccuracies and stylistic crimes.

English chroniclers kept themselves informed, perhaps through correspondence or through conversations with visiting prelates, about events in the North. Their accounts are so reliable that Munch, the great historian of the nineteenth century, placed their authority above that of the sagas. Among these chroniclers one may mention Simeon of Durham, Benedict of Peterborough,

William of Malmesbury, Ordericus Vitalis, and Roger of Hoveden. That Norwegian influences must have been even stronger in the case of Matthew Paris, the friend of Hákon and the reformer of Nidarholm, goes without saying. The late Professor Schofield has pointed out that Matthew applies to the feigned sorrow of the Caursin bankers over the distresses of the Jews the very phrase which Snorri quotes in Loki's sham lament over Baldr dead: "dry tears." It is not without significance that the greatest writers of historical prose in their century were the Icelander, Snorri, and the Englishman, Matthew.

But while there were currents from the North flowing into English hagiology and history, far stronger were the currents which flowed the other way. The stories of the first two Danish martyrs, as we have seen, were written down early in the twelfth century by Englishmen residing in Denmark: the *Passion of King Cnut* by Ailnoth of Canterbury, and the *Passion of Earl Cnut* by Robert of Ely. The former describes himself as "Ailnothus, Cancia Anglorum metropolitana urbe editus, iam uero Dacie partibus quatuor quinquennijs et bis fere binis annis demoratus." His work is preserved in full, the two best manuscripts having been recovered in Flanders, though none are found in Ailnoth's native England. It extols

the saintly character of the really unpopular monarch, and ends with an address to the saint. On the other hand, Robert's work has been lost, save for an excerpt. An extant *Ordinale* concerning Cnut Lavard, written about 1170, is also apparently English in authorship, to judge from its stylistic finish in alliteration and rhyme.

Denmark, unlike Norway and Iceland, is lacking in early religious writings in the vernacular.* Latin documents, however, here and there, may be traced to England. A psalter of Anglo-Norman origin is preserved at Copenhagen. A martyrology from Ribe is based upon a slavish copy of a Winchester martyrology. The Royal Library at Copenhagen has several fragments of saints' lives, found wrapped about customs accounts. "It cannot be due to an accident," says Dr. Ellen Jörgensen, "that only English saints' lives are preserved, and not in the common abbreviated form in which they wander from one collection of legends to another, but in the original shape that they assumed from the hand of the author." From the twelfth century apparently we have a fragment of Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, and from the thirteenth some leaves of a *Miracula St. Thomae auctore Benedicto.* There exist from the beginning of the fourteenth century two fragments of a *Legendarium* that seems to have followed the days of the year: they

contain the end of a St. Botulf's legend, which belongs to the group based on Folcard's *Vita;* the end of the legend of St. Leopold, an abbot revered in the Seine lands and known from Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman calendars; and after this, in red letters, the title *De Sancto Albano*, referring to the English protomartyr.

Norwegian remains of books of instruction from this period are richer than the Danish.* The oldest Norwegian book preserved — of incalculable value to philologists because of its linguistic form — a collection of sermons from the end of the twelfth century, reflects a strong English religious character.† It was doubtless translated chiefly from Latin homilies, although it contains a sermon for St. Olaf's Day. The compilation begins with a translation from Alcuin of York, a treatise upon virtues and vices, introduced as an epistle to Count Wido. In these renderings of sermons into the vernacular — made earlier even than corresponding Latin writings in Denmark — we cannot fail to remember the example set by Ælfric and other vigorous homilists of Anglo-Saxon England. The native style as thus developed in England and the North exhibits a homeliness bordering on rusticity, a conscious abandonment of dignity, an earnest effort to reach the human heart through a colloquial medium.

Saints' lives also were translated in Norway, probably earlier than in Iceland; we have a "saga" of Thomas à Becket, various legends and sermons, and, some time between 1225 and 1250—that is, in the reign of Hákon the Old—a translation of part of the Vulgate that goes under the name of *Stjórn*.

In vision literature Old Norwegian offers its *Duggals Leizla* (now recovered only in Icelandic transcripts), a translation from the Latin *Visio Tnugdali*, giving the well-known tale of an Irishman's descent into hell in the year 1149, while under the influence of a trance.*

For religious romance Norway acquired *Barlaams Saga ok Josaphats*.† This legend, relating the conversion of the Indian prince Josaphat by Barlaam the hermit, originated in a story of the Buddha, passed through sixth-century Greek, and reached the North in some Latin version, to which the translator has made additions of his own from the Old Norse Bible and *Antonius Saga*. The work was done by order of King Hákon's son, Hákon the Young, who died in 1257. Like the Norwegian secular romances, *Barlaam* was repeatedly transcribed in Iceland.

The chief monument of Old Norwegian literature independent of Iceland is the famous book of instruction, *The King's Mirror*, described by its Latin title as *Speculum Regale* and in Norse as

*Konungsskuggsjá.** It is preserved in a thirteenth-century manuscript. Author and date are not indicated, but the most recent investigation refers its composition to the forties, between Duke Skuli's fall in 1240 and King Hákon's coronation in 1247. The place of actual writing down was an outlying district about one hundred miles northeast of Trondhjem, although the author, obviously an old man and a churchman, was no farmer, but familiar through long association with the king's court. The most likely candidate for the distinction of authorship is Ívar Bodde, sometime chancellor of the realm, whom we have already noted as twice a visitor to England. "Mirrors" of noble living and thinking held up to society were common in the later middle ages. Instruction books, like the *Speculum Naturale* of Vincent of Beauvais and numerous other *Specula*, were international property, as well as compilations of a similar character, such as the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsus. The first suspicion is that the Norwegian work is a translation. No thoroughgoing comparison has yet been made with the various mediæval mirrors and compendia, and it is not certain that such a search would be fruitful. The Northern and personal character of considerable portions of the book, such as the chapters on the geography of the Arctic, makes it unlikely that

the whole can be a translation. When the Bible is quoted, it is usually done inaccurately. Professor Larson, in the valuable introduction to his recent English translation of the *Speculum*, holds that the learned author drew from many sources, written and oral, deriving for example his surprising account of Irish *mirabilia* in part from Giraldus Cambrensis or some common source. At the time of writing, he seems to have had few works of reference at his elbow, and to have relied much on his memory.

In form, the book is a dialogue between father and son: the son asks the questions, but the father does most of the talking. It undertakes to give instruction about the life of four estates: Merchant, Courtier, Cleric, and Husbandman. The plan is thus outlined:

> Inasmuch as my father was still living and loved me well, I thought it would be better to seek his counsel than after a slight consideration to reach a decision which might displease him. So I hastened to my father and laid the whole problem before him. . . . Thereupon I began my inquiry by asking about the activities of merchants and their methods. At the close of the first discussion, when my questions had all been answered, I became bolder in speech and mounted to a higher point in our review of the conditions of men; for next I began to inquire into the customs of kings and other princes and of the men who follow and serve them. Nor did I wholly omit to ask about the doings of the

clergy and their mode of life. And I closed by inquiring into the activities of the peasants and husbandmen, who till the soil, and into their habits and occupation.

Only the first two subjects, however, are covered. We have already seen the character of the advice given the Merchant, and have noted the apparent reflection of mercantile and diplomatic relations with England.

The Courtier is furnished with descriptions of military engines and with the gorgeous panoply of chivalry — obviously from foreign, not from existing Norwegian models — and is provided with a pretty good argument for the divine right of kings. The latter must have been especially acceptable to Hákon Hákonarson and shows that the author belonged to the king's rather than to the clerical party. The king, however, is made strictly accountable to God, and long examples of the abuse of royal power are cited from the Bible. The style is poised, firm, and monumental. Occasionally, in descriptive passages, we detect the ornate diction of the foreign romances which were coming into Norway at this time, or of the elaborate Latinity of the post-classical period:—"When evening begins, the west wind, clad in splendor and sunset beauty as if robed for a festal eve, lifts a gleaming brow above a blithe countenance, and sends a message on darting beams across to the

east wind, telling him to prepare for the festive morrow to come."

Let us now turn to Iceland and a literature that we are wont to regard as a purely vernacular product sprung from the inherent saga-telling faculties of a highly intelligent race.* Before the sagas were actually written down, we can trace the infiltration of a mass of Latin learning, both from England and the Continent, which served the Icelanders as matter for their own creation and models for their prose. Thus we may read of the activity of the cathedral school of Hólar, established by Bishop Jón about 1100. The zealous prelate secured a Gotlander as teacher of grammar, and a French priest to teach chanting and verse-making. In this school all were busily occupied. "Some read holy writings, some wrote, some chanted, some learned, some taught." One particularly devout scholar was "a chaste maiden named Ingun." She was inferior to none in booklore and many became learned through her instruction. "She esteemed Latin books so high that she had them read before her, and she herself sewed, wove, or did other handiwork, . . . showing to men God's glory not only by word of mouth but also by the work of her hands."

About the middle of the twelfth century Iceland adopted a somewhat modified Anglo-Saxon form

of the Latin alphabet as a substitute for the awkward runes, thus paving the way for a native literature. The great achievement of Iceland was the production of the sagas, surpassing all other mediæval literature in realism, sincerity, and richness of elemental feeling. But Iceland was by no means cut off from the sophistication of the European world, and assimilated its learning. There were grammars founded on Priscian, Donatus, and Ælfric; the *Elucidarium*, *Doctrinals*, Cato's *Distichs*, Isidore's *Etymologiae;* works on medicine, astronomy, mathematics, itineraries for pilgrims, bestiaries, classical history, and a creditable encyclopædic literature. "The new learning," writes Professor Frank, "is shaped to immediate ends. The literature as well, which made its way to the North, must adapt itself to native demands. A few historical tales are found serviceable and they are at once translated. Even Lucan's *Pharsalia* is transformed into a saga, and the Latin sermons are excerpted for entertaining anecdotes. These things, trifling though they may seem, were full of meaning to the new learners. The North was teeming with unwritten native lore which needed only the example of the artistically written tale to assume permanent form. This the new learning provided, and the result was a remarkable body of literature — not, to be sure, the equal of its model — but after all the finest fruit

of the Germanic mind before the Renaissance. And when all this is quite accomplished we find Petrarch (*Epistolae*, III, i) sitting one night among his manuscripts, delving in Pliny and Solinus for some hint by which to settle the old question *de situ insulae Thules*." *

These are but a few hints of the variety of Latin learning that came into Iceland, much of it in the twelfth century, nearly a hundred years before the foreign romances began to arrive *via* Norway. Of religious writings, "Bible paraphrase and apocryphal story, homilies, legends and lives of saints, visions, and books of edification" — all these found their way into Icelandic prose as readily as into Middle English. There are great collections comprising the legendary lives of the apostles, the lives of the saints, as well as the lives of the native bishops, holy men of Iceland.† Likewise a varied assortment of Icelandic religious tales, chiefly from foreign lands, has been collected and edited. Many of these were brought to Iceland by Bishop Jón Halldórsson near the beginning of the fourteenth century, from his studies on the Continent, but others are obviously of English origin, including loans from Robert Manning of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*.‡

Of English saints, Dunstan, Edward the Confessor, and Oswald, have each their saga. The

translations are not based upon any one existing source, but have something in common with various English accounts, showing the great mass of English learned material which must have been available in Iceland.*

Most popular, however, of all the Latin religious works of English origin translated by Icelanders, was the life of Thomas à Becket — *Thomas Saga Erkibyskups.*† Several translations were made, both in Norway and Iceland, the earliest apparently not much later than 1200. The largest compilation, a veritable encyclopædia of miracles, dates from about 1300 and is founded upon the work of Robert of Cricklade, considerably augmented. We have already noted how rapidly the cult of the prelate of Canterbury, murdered in 1170, seized upon the Northern imagination. Becket meant more to the North than ever St. Olaf meant to England. In the words of the saga, "Who among saints hath gone through a passion more closely resembling the very passion of God than this Thomas?"

CHAPTER V

Pseudo-Histories

Lucas, nacionis Britannice, historiarum sciencia apprime eruditus.

Saxo Grammaticus

MEDIÆVAL Icelandic scholarship was likewise cosmopolitan in its knowledge of history. To this Saxo Grammaticus bears witness: "Nor may the pains of the men of Thule be blotted in oblivion; for though they lack all that can foster luxury (so naturally barren is their soil), yet they make up for their neediness by their wit, by keeping continually every observance of soberness, and devoting every instant of their lives to perfecting our knowledge of the deeds of foreigners. Indeed, they account it a delight to learn and to consign to remembrance the history of all nations, deeming it as great a glory to set forth the excellences of others as to display their own."

Icelanders followed with interest the course of current events abroad. In their annals, foreign happenings are frequently recorded along with domestic matters. In their sagas, too, especially in introductory and final chapters, the chronological setting is often given in terms of universal

history: — "In those days so-and-so was emperor of Rome, and so-and-so ruled over the English." Of all non-Scandinavian countries England is the one most frequently mentioned.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries several histories were translated from the Latin by Icelanders — among them a *History of the World* (*Veraldarsaga*), a *Rome-Book* (*Rómverja Sögur*), an *Alexanders Saga*, and a *History of the Jews* (*Gyðinga Saga*). No one source has been discovered for any of these except the *Alexander*, which is not one of the vast mediæval romances on that theme, but a translation of the more historical *Alexandreis* of Philip Gautier de Châtillon written in Latin hexameters between 1170 and 1201. The last two works were done into Icelandic by Brand Jónsson (d. 1264), bishop of Hólar, by order of King Magnus Lawmender.

Most important of these foreign histories to our study is *Trójumanna Saga ok Bretasögur*. The *Histories of the Trojans and the Britons* appear in Icelandic as one continuous narrative. The reason for this arrangement becomes obvious. Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* * claimed for the ancient kings of Britain descent from the illustrious lineage of Troy, and the Icelandic editor was but following general habits of thought when he regarded the Troy Book as a

prelude to British history. Trojan ancestry,* one of the first claims of Rome to epic distinction, was first borrowed by certain Gallic tribes who wished to be called *fratres* of the Romans. Later the Goths were associated by Jordanes with the Trojan cycle. Sometime between 600 and 650 the Franks discovered, by an ingenious interpretation of a passage in Virgil, that they too came from Troy, whence they proceeded to Pannonia, to the Rhine, and into Gaul. Before 973 the Germans had fallen in line, and Ekkehard says of Hagan in the *Waltharius:* "Egregiae veniens de germine Troiae." It was natural, too, that the Normans, after settling among "Trojan" Franks, should look for a good family tree. So, about 1015, we find their historian, Dudo of Saint-Quentin, asserting that the Danes boasted of descent from the Danai or Trojans. In the following century, Wace accepts this account in his *Roman de Rou* (1160–1174). Meanwhile the contagion had spread to England, where our earliest authority, Nennius, about 790, asserted that Britain was settled by Brutus, the grandson of Æneas. To Geoffrey of Monmouth, however, we owe the artistic development of the genealogy: his *Historia* (about 1135) linked two cycles of romance, the Trojan and the Arthurian.

Small wonder that mediæval writers were curious about all that concerned Trojan history and

eagerly enlarged upon the meagre materials at their command.* Homer they had only in the *Epitome* of Pindarus Thebanus. For the rest they relied upon the so-called "Greek version" of the story, the *Effemeris Belli Trojani* of "Dictys Cretensis" and the rival and more popular "Trojan account," the *Historia de Excidio Trojae* by "Dares Phrygius." As early as the twelfth century romancers began to expand these stories. About 1160 Benoit de Sainte-More composed his long epic in the French vernacular, *Le Roman de Troie*, which formed the basis of many subsequent versions in Germany, Italy, and England.†

The Fall of Troy seemed to mediæval patriots a national affair, a chapter from the early history of their own people. They could prefix the Troy story to the opening chronicles of almost any European nation. In the oldest extant manuscript containing the work of Dares Phrygius, his *De Excidio* is followed by Gregory of Tours's history of the Franks. In the same way in Iceland the translations from Dares and from Geoffrey were arranged as introduction and sequel. The Icelandic *Troy Saga* ends with the words, "Following is the story of Æneas and those who inhabited Britain"; and the *History of the Britons* begins, "Now is to tell of the gentle Æneas, that he was driven long upon the seas, when he went from Troy."

The date of the Icelandic Troy-Britain sagas cannot be definitely ascertained. There are two vellum manuscripts, both from the fourteenth century. The earlier, in *Hauksbók*, is in the hand of lawman Hauk Erlendsson, who died in 1334. Certain errors in his text indicate that Hauk's version is a copy. In the catalogue of Bishop Arni's library (about 1310), a *Troy Saga* and a *Brut* occur among the works in the vernacular. Further, the *Troy Saga* is mentioned in *Alexanders Saga* by Bishop Brand Jónsson, who died in 1264. Dares might have been early known to Scandinavia in the Latin original, and the diffusion of Geoffrey's *Historia* was so rapid that it might well have reached Icelandic hands by the middle of the twelfth century. That *Breta Sögur*, at least, was translated in Iceland rather than in Norway may be inferred from the inclusion of verses by Gunnlaug, a monk of Thingeyrar in Iceland. On the whole, a safe date to assign to these translations is the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

The *Troy Saga*, as found in *Hauk's Book*,* exhibits a considerable faculty for compilation on the part of the translator or his original. The body of the work is a fairly accurate rendering of Dares, but the concluding chapters draw upon Dictys Cretensis. There are minor additions also from various mediæval Latin sources, and a preface has

been provided containing six chapters of mythological matter. The later manuscript appears to be a revision of the version represented by *Hauk's Book*, checked up with the Latin sources at hand. Detached from its sequel, there is no internal evidence that the materials for *Trójumanna Saga* came from England rather than the Continent. We know, however, that Dares was popular in England, where the British Museum has, besides numerous other versions of the Troy story, no less than five Latin manuscripts of the *De Excidio* from the twelfth century, and six from the thirteenth. In one of these, Dares is used as an introduction to a Latin chronicle of English knights and prelates. In another the *De Excidio* is followed by Geoffrey's *Historia* itself. It was in this form, we may believe, as prologue and sequel, that the *Troy* and the *Brut* wandered together from England to the North.

The *Breta Sögur* continues the narrative of Troy.* It is a translation of Geoffrey's *Historia*, carelessly done, with many curious additions and emendations. Thus, Old Norse gods are substituted for their Latin equivalents: Odin, Thor, and "Gifjon," for Mercury, Jupiter, and Diana. Some of the proper names are totally different. Lincoln, for instance, is rendered by London. In one passage the writer takes Kay for a woman! While at

times the translation is fairly literal, the order of the sentences is often shifted and the narrative greatly compressed. Sometimes, however, there are enlargements, as in the case of Geoffrey's brief account of Æneas' flight, settlement in Italy, and death, for which the translator substitutes five chapters ultimately derived from Virgil. He grows more careless in the second half of his work. Some of his lapses are corrected in the later recension. Finnur Jónsson's description of the translator's method applies equally well to that employed upon many of the romances of chivalry which we shall discuss in subsequent chapters: — "He has, as a rule, read a long passage in the original at one time, and rendered the contents from memory as accurately and fully in each case as he could, and found needful; where he wished to be literal, he naturally read the original again, and translated sentence for sentence."

The framework of Geoffrey's book is omitted by the Icelander. To give his fiction verisimilitude, Geoffrey began with an epistle dedicatory to his patron Robert of Gloucester and an account of his alleged source, the "British book" given him by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford. There is none of this in the saga, which accepts the record as faithful history.

Concerning the uncertain end or the disappear-

ance of King Arthur, the saga contains information not recorded elsewhere. Geoffrey, it will be remembered, is non-committal as to Arthur's end:— "And even the renowned King Arthur himself was mortally wounded; and being carried thence to the isle of Avallon, to be cured of his wounds, he gave up the crown of Britain to his kinsman Constantine." Naturally, readers were dissatisfied with thus being left in uncertainty. Henry of Huntingdon, for example, adds: "although his kinsmen the Britons deny that he was mortally wounded, and seriously expect that he will yet return." But the Icelandic translators were not in touch with "Welsh traditions." Perhaps they had heard rumors of the unearthing of Arthur and Guinevere at Glastonbury. At any rate they are quite positive as to his mortality. With Arthur's death the later Icelandic manuscript has enough of Geoffrey and ends the recital of British history: — "Arthur was taken," it asserts, "to Assysla Island for treatment, and there he died." The *Hauk's Book* version appends this unique statement: — "He was taken to the island of Avolló; there the king lay a short time until he died, and was much mourned by his men. *His body was buried at Christ's Church in Canterbury.*" The practical Icelandic mind was yet unready to entertain the tantalizing mysteries of Celtic fairy lore.

A more valuable and surprising sidelight thrown upon literary history by the *Breta Sögur* is the saga's treatment of *Merlin's Prophecies*, that mysterious booklet so often referred to and imitated in England in the middle ages. Geoffrey of Monmouth's own statement is that he published the *Prophecies* separately before the completed edition of his *Historia*. This might be smiled away as but another of his genial literary lies, were it not that Ordericus Vitalis, using the former work in 1135, probably before the appearance of the great historical fiction, refers to the prophecies as a separate book, saying that he is drawing his material "*de libello Merlini*." Now, as we shall see, the saga furnishes further proof of this separate edition by its evidence that the *Prophecies* were known in Iceland apart from Geoffrey's historical romance.

It is significant that the saga omits the framework with which Geoffrey introduces the prophecies, telling how he had gone thus far in his history when he was obliged, at the request of his acquaintances, especially Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, to publish Merlin's prophecy. Instead, Hauk's version informs us that "Gunnlaug, the monk, has composed a poem therefrom [Merlin's words] which is called 'Merlin's Prophecy' [*Merlínus Spá*]." The poem follows. The later manuscript, however, omits the prophecies and the poem on

the ground that they are well-known, merely alluding to Merlin's utterance "on which is based the most of the poem called 'Merlin's Prophecy," which the monk Gunnlaug Leifsson composed, *and many men know that poem by heart.*"

Gunnlaug, who turned Geoffrey's Latin prose into Icelandic verse, was a well-known historian and monk of Thingeyrar in the north of Iceland. He died in 1218, and probably wrote the poem a good while before 1200.

Merlínus Spá is written in the form of two poems, corresponding to the two chapters of Geoffrey's edition. As translations they are more faithful than the prose of *Breta Sögur;* as close to the original, indeed, as the laws of metre, alliteration, and kenning would allow. Each poem has its separate introduction and conclusion. Prefaced to the second are thirteen original strophes of historical setting. Now, this introduction betrays a complete ignorance of the true character of Merlin which Gunnlaug could hardly have shown if the larger work of Geoffrey, with its fuller account of him, had been at hand. To the Icelandic monk, Merlin appears among the wise men as one wiser than the rest, "the king's friend," "the friend of man."

That the *Libellus Merlini* came into Gunnlaug's hands need cause no surprise. The sagas tell us that

about 1160 a countryman of Gunnlaug, Thorlak, bishop of Skálholt, studied at Lincoln. Now it was the bishop of Lincoln at whose solicitation Geoffrey published the *Prophecies* and to whom he sent his first copy. Therefore at Lincoln, of all places, the book would be in circulation and accessible to foreign students. This, however, is but one of a hundred ways by which the *Libellus* could have traveled. Its vogue was too wide and rapid to be localized. It is sufficient to surmise that the book of British prophecy, like many another mediæval Latin document, was brought to Iceland by some student returning home.*

Thus do the Icelandic versions of Geoffrey's *Prophecies* and his greater *History* serve the student of comparative literature by shedding light in obscure corners. The influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth upon the North, however, was not confined to the medium of translations. Let us now examine how he inspired the original performance of the two greatest Scandinavian historians of the hundred years which followed his time, Saxo Grammaticus in Denmark and Snorri Sturluson in Iceland.

About fifty years after Geoffrey finished his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Saxo had begun his *Historia Regum Daniae*.† The period of composition apparently extended from 1185 to 1208.

Saxo was preceded in his undertaking by an elder contemporary, Sven Aggison, but Sven's *Compendiosa Historia Regum Daniae* is a mere skeleton. Saxo, as Mr. Powell says, "may fairly be called not only the earliest chronicler of Denmark, but her earliest writer." He had no native models for such a work. In Iceland the sagas were only beginning to be written down. Nor among the mediæval Latin chroniclers of the Continent did Saxo discover a pattern. In his time the great school of Latin historians was to be found in England — where the new Anglo-Norman patriotism was busily fostering a past — William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Alfred of Beverly, Gervase of Tilbury, a handful of names out of many. It was to this Anglo-Latin school that Saxo would naturally turn for models, and here one work had overshadowed all others, the *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

The popularity of Geoffrey's book had been instantaneous. Latin copies spread at a rate almost rivalling the days of printing. "The *Historia Britonum*," said Alfred of Beverly in the preface to his history written about 1150, "was such a universal subject for conversation that any one who did not know its stories was regarded as a clown." Strange indeed, if it were unknown to Danish scholars before Saxo began to write, forty or fifty years after the publication in England.

We have seen in previous chapters that there were English clerks enough in Denmark in the twelfth century to account for an infiltration of English reading and ideas, enough to bring Geoffrey's work to Saxo's attention, especially if, as we have good reason to believe, he wrote in the abbey cells of wooded Sorö. Any Danish student, returning from a semester of canon law abroad, could have fetched the treasured manuscript. For example, Anders Suneson, who later became archbishop of Lund (1201–1227), travelled in the course of his youthful studies, about 1180, to England. "Thou who hast searched," Saxo addresses Anders in his preface, when entreating him to become, as Absalon had been, sponsor of his history, "thou who hast searched through Gaul and Italy, and Britain also, in order to gather knowledge of letters and amass them abundantly." Equally significant is the reference to that Lucas the scribe who followed Prince Christopher of Denmark on his first campaign in 1170, and whom Saxo describes as "a Briton, slightly educated in letters indeed, but especially learned in knowledge of history." By reciting history Lucas stimulated the Danes to battle.*

The chief similarity between Geoffrey and Saxo lies in their respective plans of composition — that within two generations each attempted to do for the history of his country what no historian

had undertaken since Livy, in fact what none before or since has essayed. They set out to provide a complete history of the nation, audaciously bridging the gaps of centuries for which annals, chronicles, and other authentic records failed. To do this they gathered folklore, song and tale and anecdote alike, spun it to their taste, wove it upon the bare genealogies of kings' names, filled the interstices with pure inventions, and embroidered the whole. This fabric they then attached to real history and made a continuous narrative, giving to each reign, whether fabulous or real, its definite character, and supplying each century with a readable narrative. Saxo, adopting Geoffrey's method, surpassed him in perfecting the form. He produced a work several times the bulk of Geoffrey's. Whereas sometimes the Englishman's ingenuity grew weary, and flung out a string of royal names to fill in the decades, Saxo impressed nearly every reign with the distinguishing personality of its ruler and its place in the development of Denmark.

Although Saxo does not mention Geoffrey's history, a work that must have been uppermost in the minds of many of his learned readers, he uses literary devices which indicate that he had the English model clearly before him. When he begins his preface with the words: "Forasmuch as all other nations are wont to vaunt the glory of

their achievements, and reap joy from the remembrance of their forefathers," he would seem to have in mind the past that Geoffrey had evoked for Norman England, and to proclaim his own desire to do the same for Denmark. His introduction, the technical framework of his historical novel, follows the lines laid down by Geoffrey. Saxo, like his predecessor, states that he was urged by a bishop — Geoffrey by the bishop of Lincoln, Saxo by the archbishop of Lund — and, though all unworthy, undertook the task. Like Geoffrey, he follows up the account of his sponsor by dedicating the work to his secular lord — Geoffrey to the earl of Gloucester, Saxo to King Valdemar II. Like Geoffrey he claims to use as his authorities records in the vernacular which he translates into Latin — Geoffrey from a "British book," Saxo from "songs" and "the men of Thule."

Another favorite device of both historians is to record events by means of lengthy speeches put into the mouths of the characters. More marked even than this resemblance is the pains that Saxo takes to emulate Geoffrey's exaggerated patriotism. Geoffrey had to create a glorious past for the new England of the Norman rulers. According to him, the Scandinavian North was one of the early conquests of the mighty Briton. About 400 B.C. he makes Brennius, subsequently conqueror of

Rome, marry the daughter of Elsingius, king of Norway. With a Norwegian fleet Brennius sails for England to overcome his brother Belinus, but is defeated by Guichthlac, king of the Danes. Later, the Danish king is obliged to surrender his realm to Belinus, whose son in course of time reconquers Denmark by the sword. King Arthur, in his turn, centuries later, annexes Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. How does Saxo retaliate for these Norman-British claims of having subjugated the North? By sending Hamlet as a conqueror into Britain. Likewise his King Frotho, about the beginning of the Christian era, comes near eclipsing the record of Geoffrey's Arthur by conquering Britain and most of the Continent as well. Saxo is not to be outdone in patriotism.

Geoffrey inaugurated a new type of literature, the romantic history. It was regarded by his contemporaries as a form novel and astonishing. Saxo followed, amplified, improved upon his model, and produced a more monumental work, which lacks in lustre when compared with that of Geoffrey only because the Norman in his story of Arthur had seized upon the very jewel of Celtic fancy, an inextinguishable light of legend, capable of quickening the imagination of all European races and requickening it periodically for all time. These two pseudo-histories were the chief literary monu-

ments of their age in England and in Denmark. They were not for their own century alone but for posterity. Geoffrey was one of the chief reservoirs from which flowed Arthurian romance, Saxo was the fountain-head of modern Danish poetry and pictorial art. To Geoffrey, Shakespeare owed his Lear, to Saxo his Hamlet.

The influence of Geoffrey upon Snorri Sturluson was less fundamental than that exercised on Saxo. The Norman and the Danish historian wrote in monkish Latin, the Icelander in the vernacular. Although Snorri, writing about 1230, prefaced his history of the kings of Norway with an account of their ancestors, the Yngling dynasty of Sweden, he elaborated little upon the old skaldic strophes, which he quoted as authority for the pre-history of the North. Snorri was an artist, a greater master of clear, direct prose than the two florid Latinists who preceded him. In respect for fact he was, at the same time, as accurate and scientific as the age allowed. His spirit was the consummation of realism, not the beginning of romance.

Yet, self-sufficient and national as was his method, even Snorri had to make one concession to the foreign fashion of the day. He must needs provide the Northern kingdoms with letters patent of divine right. He was obliged to establish for them, like the English, a Trojan ancestry. To

make assurance doubly sure he fitted the pagan gods into the scheme by making Odin the ancestor of the kings of Norway and the descendant of King Priam of Troy. Modern readers have been loath to ascribe this fiction to the great Icelander, but many scholars now concede that the euhemeristic forewords to *Heimskringla* and to *Edda* were actually written by Snorri himself. In justice to him be it said that these prologues are consistent with a mediæval scholarship which made it a business to trace Trojan origins and work out race-trees from existing documents. Like Milton in the *Paradise Lost* Snorri no doubt felt that he followed the truth in essentials, and that in non-essentials it was desirable that the imagination play its part.

The gods (Æsir) in these forewords are made into a royal race from whom the Scandinavians are descended. The Æsir are "Asia-men"; and they sprang from Troy. According to *Heimskringla* they dwelt in Ásaland, east of the river Tanakvísl, which divides Europe and Asia. The chief city of Ásaland was Ásgard, a great town of sacrifices, and here dwelt Odin, who owned possessions across the mountains in Turkland. At the time of the Roman invasion he migrated with his people and eventually settled in Sweden the Great. After his death the Swedes worshipped him as a god.

When he came to write the *Edda*,* Snorri had apparently "collected more information" about the origin of the Æsir, and the account begins farther back. We arrive at length in Troy, situated in Turkland. Under Priam were twelve tributary kings, who were worshipped as gods, and are the ancestors of all European chiefs. One of Priam's daughters had a son named Thor, from whom, in the twentieth generation, Odin was descended. At the time of Pompey's invasion, Odin emigrated from Turkland and established his sons as rulers over Saxland, Frankland, Gutland, Sweden, and Norway. Another passage at the end of *Gylfaginning* expresses the belief that there had once existed an older Ásgard, identified with Troy, and that the mythological stories recounted in the *Edda* were based upon Hector's deeds in Troy: in other words, Loki is to be identified with Ulysses, Thor with Hector, and Ragnarök with the Siege of Troy. In this way Snorri grafted the Scandinavian stock upon that parent tree which learned tradition had planted.

Where had Snorri discovered the Trojan origin of his race? † The theory was not current in the North, for it does not appear until his time. Norwegian historiesbe fore Snorri — Theodric, *Ágrip*, and others — hint at no such belief. As to Saxo, he begins the history of Denmark with Dan: —

"Now Dan and Angul, with whom the stock of the Danes begins, were begotten of Humble, their father, and were the governors and not only the founders of our race." Then he adds, as a parenthesis, "Yet Dudo, the historian of Normandy, considers that the Danes are sprung and named from the Danai." While Saxo knew Dudo's statement, he evidently regarded it as an isolated theory, not to be treated seriously. There is no reason to suppose that Snorri made use of the slight clue given by Dudo, or the still slighter reference in Saxo. Something closer at hand must have induced the saga-man to construct this elaborate and learned genealogy. Is it not probable that he sought to emulate the example set forth in the Icelandic translation of Geoffrey, the *Breta Sögur?* Geoffrey had glorified the British race by narrating the migrations of their ancestors of the Trojan stock. The Britons were descended from the only true *gentlemen* of antiquity. Surely the Scandinavians were as good as they. The Northmen, too, must be of Trojan blood.

CHAPTER VI

Western Romance

Ne sont que trois matières à nul home entendant,
De France, et de Bretagne, et de Rome le grant.
Jean Bodel

BENE LITTERATUS! The worldly-wise English historian of the thirteenth century, Matthew Paris, was not the man to bestow careless praise. When he describes his former Norwegian friend and host as "well lettered," we may believe that the monk of St. Albans had truly been impressed by the knowledge of literature that Hákon the Old displayed in the King's Hall of Bergen. We have followed Hákon's career as a diplomat; observed the eagerness with which he corresponded with foreign monarchs; and noted his coronation by the pope's representative, his friendship for English scholars, his passion to give *glacialis Norwegia* a place in the full sunlight of mediæval civilization. Now we shall see him as a scholar and a patron of letters.*

"The boy [Hákon] was very sprightly," says Sturla, "though his stature and years were so little; he was very forward in speech and merry-

tongued, so that the earl and all others who heard him took pleasure in the words of the boy. . . . When Hákon the king's son was seven winters old, the earl let them put him to book-learning. But when he had been a while a-learning, the earl asked, 'What learnest thou, Hákon?' 'I learn chaunting, my Lord,' said he. The earl answers, 'Thou shalt not learn chaunting; thou shalt be neither priest nor bishop.'" As a grown man, Hákon had springs of knowledge and imagination within him which would have given him satisfaction, no matter what his walk of life. Sturla describes him as "merrier than any man and lighter and livelier in himself." † His passion for the things of the spirit was further exemplified in the monuments of architecture, the churches and castles, which he bequeathed to his country. But his most notable service to civilization, for which he will be remembered abroad, if we except the high political position in which he placed his nation, was his introduction of the romances of chivalry from England. Thus he opened wide the door of the Northern mind to the world literature of the middle ages.

During the early years of Hákon's reign, the romances upon which the imagination of western Europe had been fed for the previous fifty years were turned into Norwegian with astonishing rapidity. They were promptly transcribed into

Icelandic, and in this form, for the most part, are preserved to us.*

Counting as units the twenty-one Breton lays, we have no less than fifty translations from foreign romance — usually Anglo-Norman poems — which can confidently be assigned to Hákon's reign and the period before 1290. In this wealth of material nearly every cycle of romance is represented. The three themes that chiefly delighted the mediæval heart — the so-called Matters of France, of Britain, and of Antiquity — are all represented. We can follow in Old Norse texts the valorous deeds of the heroes of the Round Table from young Perceval's victory over the Red Knight to the exploits of Ivain with his helpful lion. We can accompany Charlemagne on his thieving expedition with the robber Basin, feast among his peers at Byzantium, and watch their battles against the paynims in Saxony, Italy, and Spain. With Alexander we can explore the wonders of India. The Old Norse romances fill many a gap in mediæval narrative. Four Breton lays are preserved only in Norse. The Norse *Tristram* has enabled scholars to reconstruct voids in its Anglo-Norman original. Similarly the Norse versions of *Roland* and of *Charlemagne's Pilgrimage* have been used to edit the text of the Romance poems. Indeed, the well-arranged Scandinavian collection of Carolingian romance,

besides preserving lost branches, serves as a clue to the labyrinth of *chansons* grouped about Charlemagne and his family.

Mediæval translations are usually unsigned, and this is the case with most romances done into Old Norse. Hákon's personal supervision of the task, however, is mentioned in four: — *Tristan* (translated by his order by Brother Robert, in the tenth year of Hákon's reign), *Ivain*, the *Mantle*, and *Elie de Saint-Gilles*, and also in the collection of Breton lays. Hákon's part must have been far greater than these acknowledgments alone would indicate.

The romances were a direct product of Hákon's friendship with England and the English. They were produced for the court, and as far as we have evidence, by clerks. Therefore, considering the continuous and most intimate relations of Hákon's court with that of Henry III, whether on diplomatic mission or for trade, as well as the close dependence of the Norwegian monasteries upon English foundations throughout Hákon's reign and especially in his early years, the antecedent probability is that these romances, whether in English, Latin, or French texts, came to Norway from England and only by way of exception from France. The debt to England becomes a certainty when the translations attributed to the period before 1290

are severally examined, as we shall see in the following chapters. In a few Norse translations there is definite internal evidence that the original was an Anglo-Norman or a Middle English work. In no instance does such evidence point to Continental French. Whenever a central French version of the original exists, it shows a wide divergence from the Norwegian form. Whenever we have an Anglo-Norman version of the original, the Norse redaction follows it closely. Whenever the source is preserved in both Continental and English dialects, the Norse form in each case is more nearly related to the Anglo-Norman.

The dialect of the original romances is usually recorded in Norse text as *valska*. This term at first was associated with a Gallic or Celtic country, or foreign in general. It came also to be applied specifically to the inhabitants of the North of France, to Valland or Normandy and its languages, in distinction to *franziska*, language of Frankland, the French of Paris. The Normans brought this *valska* dialect with them to England.

As stated above, the romances and other foreign works were originally a court literature, intended by Hákon as much for profit as for pleasure, to instruct those who surrounded him, in the ideals and customs, accoutrement and ceremonials of chivalry. These books and their like were cultivated

in the royal family. When the romances came to be translated from Norse prose into Swedish verse, it was by order of Eufemia, Queen of Hákon V of Norway (1299–1319). The *Speculum Regale*, as we have seen, deals with kings and courts, and its unknown author claims to be a courtier. In the fourteenth century a portion of this work was translated into Latin by a princess Ingibjörg, daughter of the king of Norway, or at her suggestion.* The second part of the *Speculum* is an ideal picture of the foreign courts where knighthood was in flower, written for the instruction of the Norwegian royal household.

The education that Hákon gave his sons, Hákon the Young and Magnus, bears witness to the interest of the king's immediate family in the literature of England. Young Hákon (1232–1255) was trained like a Norman knight. He was "skilled in fence," says Sturla, "and in all things the most agile of men; the best horseman of all those who were in Norway." Matthew Paris characterizes him, when recording his untimely death at the age of twenty-three, as *adolescens speciosus*.† A lad of promise, a good knight, and a reader of foreign romance, he became himself an author, translating the highly moral legend of *Barlaam and Josaphat* out of Latin into his native tongue. His younger brother Magnus, who lived to succeed his father as

king (1263–1280), was the patron of Icelandic writers who voyaged to his court at his request. Sturla wrote the biography of the late king, and Brand Jónsson translated the Latin *Alexandreis* of Philip Gautier de Chatillon and a *History of the Jews*.

The effect of Norman culture and the reading of Anglo-Norman romance is visible in the color and splendor of Hákon's court at Bergen. The ceremonies that attended the visit of the Cardinal of Sabina (1247), the coronation, and the eight-day banquet, were spectacles such as had never before been seen in Norway, and astonished even the visiting "host of outlandish men" to whom the cardinal alluded in his speech. He had been warned against Norway, he said, as a wild and barren land; but to his surprise he found there courteous folk, as well as good bread and wine. Sturla's description of the scene — the crimson canopy that stretched through the town, the trappings of the dignitaries — sounds like a page from a romance of chivalry. Similarly, the marriage and coronation of Ingibjörg and Magnus, fourteen years later, in 1261, so impressed the Scottish envoy, Missel (or Michel), who observed the ceremony from over the choir, that he sobbed aloud, from sheer exaltation.

And when King Magnus was robed and King Hákon and those bishops beside girded him with the coronation sword, then that Scottish knight began to say, "It was told me there were no knights dubbed in this land, but never saw I any knight dubbed with equal honor, when five of the noblest princes of this land gird him with the coronation sword."

In private life as in outward circumstance, Norman standards and fashions affected the Norwegian's material comfort, as well as his reading and study. How Norman and un-Norse is the description that Sturla gives of Queen Margaret's boudoir, the night Hákon entered it to tell her the bitter tidings of her father's treason — a scene made eloquent again by Ibsen in *The Pretenders!*

The king went into the lodging; there was a light burning. There slept some pages and the queen's waiting-maids. The king went up to the bed; but the queen stood in a silken sark, and threw over herself a red cloak with bands. She greeted the king. He took her greeting kindly. She took a silken cushion and bade the king sit down.

It must not be supposed, however, that Hákon the Old wholly forsook the ways of his fathers for those of the Angevins. He superimposed English on native customs and supplemented the saga histories with foreign romance. Yet in the kennings and the prose of his own Scandinavian North, whether merely recited or written down in manuscript, Hákon was well versed. During his reign

(1217–1263) Old Norse prose literature reached its summit in the little republic of Iceland, when the greatest of the sagas, reinforced by three centuries of oral tradition, were written down in imperishable prose. Snorri Sturluson twice visited the Norwegian court, although he eventually took sides against Hákon in politics; and his nephew Sturla Thordson, after him the greatest of the saga-men, became Hákon's biographer.

"Learn Latin and Romance," is the advice of the *King's Mirror* to the Norwegian merchant prince, but it adds, "Do not forget your mother tongue." Nor did the king forget it. On his deathbed — so Sturla tells us — Hákon turned at last from Latin to his native language.

In the sickness, he let Latin books be read to him at first. But then he thought it great trouble to think over what that [the Latin] meant. Then he let be read to him Norse books, night and day; first the sagas of the saints; and when they were read out he let be read to him the tale of the kings from Halfdane the black, and so on of all the kings of Norway. . . . When the tale of the kings was read down to Sverrir, then he let them take to reading *Sverrir's Saga.* Then it was read both night and day whenever he was awake.

The mass-day of St. Lucy the Virgin was on a Thursday. But the Saturday after, late in the evening, the course of the king's sickness was so heavy on him that he lost his speech. Near midnight *Sverrir's Saga* was read through. But just as midnight was past, Almighty God called king Hákon from this world's life.*

So much for Hákon, the *bene litteratus*, and his part in introducing the literature and literary ideals of England to the Norwegian court. Let us now examine the general effects of that foreign reading upon the native literary standards. Norway, especially the city of Bergen, was the counter of exchange over which Norman romance from England reached Scandinavia. Very little, however, is preserved in Norwegian documents — only one manuscript in fact, containing the Lays and *Elis Saga*. More is preserved in Swedish and Danish translations.* Early in the fourteenth century the Norwegian *Ivain, Knight of the Lion*, also *Flores and Blanchefleur* and probably other Old Norse romances, were turned into Swedish verse, and later from Swedish into Danish. After 1300 the ardor of authors and copyists abated in Norway. In Iceland, however, the copying of sagas went on until the Reformation. The romances that came to Norway from the Continent in the period 1290–1397, after relations with England declined, and to Denmark after the Reformation, found their way into Icelandic. Iceland is the treasure house of mediæval romance in the North. In Icelandic manuscripts are more than a hundred and fifty romances which profess to be records of chivalry in foreign lands. Of these only seventy-three have been printed and the sources of only sixty-five

identified. Very few of the manuscripts are actually as old as the thirteenth century. The most valuable are from the fourteenth, and the great majority from the fifteenth century, and there are paper transcripts from more recent times.

In the later middle ages, throughout Scandinavia, the themes of the romances were treated by the folk in popular ballads. These are preserved in Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, occasionally in Icelandic, and in greatest profusion in the ballads of the Færoe Islands.* In Iceland many of the romances were retold by the poets of a new school of verse. This poetry is called *rímur*.† The *rímur* supplanted the old forms *fornyrðislag* and *dróttkvætt* with a new stanzaic rhyming structure, resembling simple ballad metre. They retain the elaborate kennings of skaldic verse, and thus, though their subjects be simple narrative, they are difficult to translate. In a few cases, where the saga is lost, the *rímur* are all that is left of the story.

The romances brought from England by Hákon the Old opened new vistas to the Icelandic imagination. The earlier historical sagas had been largely accounts of physical encounters. Now the jousting of armored knights on richly caparisoned steeds in the lists according to the rules of tournament took the place of the old free-for-all viking sea-fights with the throwing of spears and

boasting of skalds. Turretted castles in fairy lands forlorn, with halls rich in gold and rustling with silk, were an intoxicating substitute for the rude halls and rustic high-seats of Iceland. Magic, too, was legalized in literature. In the historical sagas it had been admitted sparingly, and only when well attested, as in the career of Grettir the Outlaw. Most fundamental, however, and most revolutionary of the themes extolled by the foreign romances was the love story.

In the historical sagas, love had been kept in the background. This was partly due to the state of society. The Christian ideals of chastity and marriage were but slowly adopted in the land of Harald Fairhair of the many wives. In Norwegian monasteries celibacy does not seem to have been attempted until the thirteenth century. All this does not mean that woman was not respected. She was never held in greater esteem than in the matriarchal age and in mediæval Norway. But the Christian ideal of one man for one woman had not yet imposed those restrictions which have given literature so many themes of tragic conflict. Revenge, not love, is the dominant motif in the symphony of the saga.

Yet Northern literature had not been altogether loveless. The tragedy of Sigurd and Brynhild, as ill-starred a pair of lovers as Tristan and

Isolt, had come down the Rhine to receive its noblest expression in Northern dramatic-lyric poetry. Still more intense, more primitive in conception if not in chronology, is the native Eddic theme of Sigrún's visit to the tomb of her slain husband Helgi, recalled for one night by her passion of love and grief. Yet even in these tragedies, as they are told by the Norse poets, revenge is the framework, love is an incident. Among the historical sagas, likewise, are several love histories: of Gunnlaug, of Cormac, and of the men of Laxdale. But contrast the Old Norse treatment of love with that in the Irish sagas. In the latter the divine emotion is treated as a soothing rapture, vibrant in the pale silver light of the moon, a condition exaggerated in French and English interpretations of Celtic romance. Old Norse love is more potent in the open sunlight, less elaborate, more direct and intense. It proves that passion belongs with realism as well as with romance. The Celtic love story, however, had more to satisfy the imagination. Thus the sagas of feud and battle were supplanted by tales of lovely ladies and adventures sought for their sake.

The profuse treatment of love in the foreign romances, together with the latitude given to folklore, magic, and the machinery of the other world, set the fashion in Iceland for a new kind of native

saga. *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*, "tales of Northern antiquity," we call the new romantic type that came into vogue in the thirteenth century, and took its place side by side with the realistic historical saga. The Icelanders began to write down in saga form the genuine legends of the North, the myths of pre-Icelandic and common-Teutonic heroes. They interspersed these narratives with stanzas more archaic and simple than the skaldic poetry that embellished their historical sagas, more in the spirit of the poems of the *Elder Edda*, with the subject matter of which the prose has much in common. Most familiar to us of the *fornaldarsögur* are *Friðþjófs Saga*, *Völsunga Saga*, and *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, which contains the Icelandic version of the historical setting of *Béowulf*. Saxo had already incorporated many Icelandic myths into his pseudo-history of the Danes. Just as Saxo embroidered the bare Latin lists of Danish kings, and as his model Geoffrey of Monmouth eked out the chronicles about Arthur from popular tradition, so the romantic *fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda* came to supplant the historical sagas of Iceland. They correspond in Scandinavia to the Arthurian cycle in Britain, and the Carolingian in France, and may be said to constitute the Matter of the North.

Although the *fornaldarsögur* are rooted in folk tradition, they have accumulated many *motifs* that are obviously foreign to the North. This is still further the case with the mushroom growth of fictitious imitations of this genre which sprang up in the fourteenth century.*

Properly to comprehend the foreign romantic literature of Iceland, we must, however, face a greater and richer group of Icelandic fiction of the later middle ages, the unidentified romances of chivalry. That the Icelandic imagination could distort and re-work foreign romances we have clear evidence in the introduction (ultimately from Slavic sources) to an account of *The Four Sons of Aimon;* also in the Oriental setting given to the Breton tale of the Werewolf, and in other cases. An Icelander, too, recast Saxo's story of Hamlet into the form of a chivalric romance.† Though it is more difficult to prove pure invention, we must suppose that the Icelanders were capable of fabricating. *Riddarasögur*, "sagas of knights," is the modern technical term by which we designate those romances the originals of which have been identified in other languages, and those which are beyond reasonable doubt *bona fide* translations. The unidentified romances we consign to the limbo of *lygisögur*, "lying sagas." Obviously the labels are interchangeable in the sense that all are

tales of chivalry and all are vanity and lies. Nor can a sharp line be drawn between the two classes. Any day a source may turn up for a so-called *lygisaga*. All of these have incidents found, if not in combination, at least scattered in authentic romance. In fact, it is rather harder to prove that an Icelander invented one of these flamboyant pseudo-romances out of his own head than to run down a source from which he might have translated it. Obviously, between the *riddarasaga* and pure invention are *lygisögur* of all types: translations of lost originals, translations with Icelandic embellishment, trader's and traveller's recitations brought not by manuscript but by word of mouth, foreign tales held in oral tradition and written down centuries after they came to the North. Some are patchworks from all these sources, combined with personal invention. The Icelandic *lygisögur* are the crazy quilts of mediæval romance.

The history of the introduction of foreign romance into Scandinavia after the decline of British relations in 1290 seems to have been as follows: In the latter part of the thirteenth century, traders from the Hansa towns came in increasing numbers to Norway and brought the songs and tales in oral recitation out of which *Þiðreks Saga* was written down. This saga recounts the legends of the Matter of Germany that are grouped about the heroic

figure of Dietrich von Bern. It is preserved in a manuscript of the end of the century and was probably compiled after 1278, when the merchants of Bremen, who are mentioned in the saga, secured a treaty from Magnus Hákonarson. In the same way, presumably, the *Konráðs Saga* reached the North at the end of the century. *Baerings Saga* and the *Saga of John the Dreamer* may have been imported later, likewise by Hansa traders. Another unidentified German heroic legend, *Blómsturvalla Saga*, if we may believe its own account of itself, was brought to Norway in 1257–1258 by Bjarni of Nidaros from Spain, where he heard it read at table in German on the occasion of the marriage of Hákon's daughter Christina to Don Philip of Castile.

From 1290 to 1397 Norway served as distributor for Iceland, Sweden, and (through Sweden) for Denmark. During this period romances, chiefly of the "Byzantine" and "magic adventure" types poured into Norway, no longer from England, but through France and from Constantinople direct. This decadent matter, like the earlier and better literature, was passed on to Iceland. Icelanders, moreover, sometimes foraged abroad for themselves. Thus we have the *Clarus Saga*,* the Latin original of which is still missing — a "Byzantine" romance about a haughty French princess who is

humiliated by the stratagem of her lover's Arabian tutor. This romance, the saga says, was found in France by Jón Halldórsson, Bishop of Skálholt. It was probably translated by him in Paris about 1290.* From 1397 to 1530 foreign romances may be pronounced dead in west Scandinavia, except for the recopying of sagas in Iceland and the composing of *rímur* based on romances, and the passing of these stories into popular unwritten literature in the Færoes.

About 1570, or earlier, an eddy of the Renaissance reached distant Iceland, widening out from Germany by way of Denmark. At this time the Danes began to print romances, some from the old manuscripts, many others from translations of German and Netherlandish *volksbücher*, most of them not really German, of course, except in language. The Icelanders eagerly retranslated these late sagas, and secured others direct from Germany and Holland. To the former class belong *Laurin*, *Morold and Saloman*, *Octavian*, *Vigoleis*, *Griselda*, *Magelone*, *Fortunatus*, *Melusine*, a late *Alexander*, and the *Seven Sages:* to the latter, *Ponthus et Sidoine* and *Virgilius*.

Sweden has a few foreign romances not recorded in Icelandic. Among them are several in verse: an *Alexander Magnus*, translated from Latin by Boo Jónsson about 1380; a *Nameless and Valentine*, a

Paris and Vienne, and the very presentable romance of *Duke Frederick of Normandy*, translated in 1307–1308 by order of Queen Eufemia of Norway. *Frederick* is as yet undiscovered in Continental libraries.* It was probably one of the manuscripts brought to Norway from England, and its discovery in the original form would be a distinct addition to the Anglo-Norman stock. This and the other Swedish romances translated from Old Norse — *Flores and Blanchefleur* and *Ivain* — give evidence of collation with the original foreign texts. In prose, Sweden has another *Alexander*, translated from Latin in 1492, and an independent *Historia Trojana*, translated in 1529. The prose *Amicus and Amelius, Barlaam and Josaphat, Didriks Krönika, Prester John, Karl Magnus Krönika* are apparently Swedish adaptations of the earlier Norwegian texts represented by Icelandic transcripts. *Nameless and Valentine* and *The Seven Sages* were probably imported from Germany.

Before the Reformation Sweden contributed to Denmark. After the Reformation the process was reversed. Some translations also were made directly into Swedish and into Danish. These *volksbuch* romances are about as well represented in Swedish as in Danish prints.

So much by way of history not altogether germane to our discussion. We must return to the pure

riddarasögur that interpret the literary relations between Norway and England in the thirteenth century. These we shall take up in more detail in the next three chapters, paying especial attention to the development of the Tristan cycle in the North, to the Breton lays, and to the Norse Book of Charlemagne.

CHAPTER VII

Tristan in the North

Þeim var ekki skapað
Nema að skilja.

Tristrams Kvæði

IN the north-west part of Iceland there is a fjord which until modern times bore the name of Trostansfjord. It lies in a district where many names of Celtic origin have survived since the time when they were first bestowed in the ninth century by Celto-Scandinavian colonists from Ireland and the islands north and west of the Scottish coast. Now in the lists of the Pictish kings of the sixth to the eighth century the name Drostan appears frequently. It is, therefore, by no means unlikely that the name of an heroic Drostan was floated across the waves to Iceland a thousand years ago, and remained there through the centuries to preserve the fame of the obscure Pictish king, who, like the equally obscure Arthur and Roland, was destined to become an immortal hero of romance.

How do we know that Drostan the Pict was he whom we have come to know as Tristan of Lyonesse? * In the royal Pictish line the name Drostan usually occurs after that of Talorc, and

this lends a strong probability to the supposition that these Drostans were sons of Talorcs. Curiously enough, when Tristan appears in the Welsh triads he is called Drystan the son of Tallwch, and most scholars have accepted his identity with one of these kings of the Picts.

Tristan's appearance in Welsh literature is slight and not altogether dignified, but he seems to have attained early renown there as a lover and as a master of tricks and ruses. In the triads he is mentioned as one of the three diadem-bearers of the Isle of Britain; as one of the three peers of Arthur's court; as one of the three masters of machines; as one of the three lovers — the lover of "Essylt, wife of March"; and finally as one of the three great swineherds of the Isle of Britain. His distinction as a swineherd seems to have consisted in his ability to circumvent the wiles and force of certain illustrious cattle-raiders, for this is the story that is told of him: —"Drystan, son of Tallwch, tended the swine of Marc, son of Meirchyon, while the swineherd went with a message to Essylt. Arthur, March, Kei, and Bedwyr came all four, but they were not able to take a single sow, neither by craft nor by force nor by theft." This character as a great lover and as master of primitive strategy Tristan maintained throughout mediæval literature.

The Tristan legend was by no means the sole possession of the Welsh; it belonged to the whole Celtic fringe. While Marie de France and the continuator of Béroul assign his birthplace to South Wales, another twelfth-century poet, Thomas, speaks of South Brittany as his home and of a castle Kanoel, probably at the mouth of the Loire. Furthermore, when the story of Tristan's combat with a monster from over the seas and of his wound which could not be healed except by a kinsman of the monster, came to be rationalized, the monster became the brother-in-law of the king of Ireland, and the monster's mysterious home, only to be reached by abandoning oneself to the seas, became the well-known port of Dublin. But it is chiefly with Cornwall that Tristan is forever associated. Not only was there a tradition in the eighth century of a King Mark of Cornwall, not only do the names of Tristan and Isolt cling forever to

> The wind-hollowed heights and gusty bays
> Of sheer Tintagel, fair with famous days;

but also it has been shown that a few other places mentioned in Béroul's version can be identified with places in Cornwall. Lancien, the Mal Pas, the Blanche Lande can be pointed out with some show of probability today, and popular tradition still finds Lyonesse in the sunken country which lies under the ocean between Land's End and the Scilly Isles.

Though the story of Tristan was not introduced into Ireland, for no allusion is made to it in mediæval Irish literature, yet since the ancient literature of Wales and Scotland preserved to us is scanty, and we have nothing native from Cornwall or Brittany, we must look to the Irish sagas for parallels to the legend of Tristan. Several incidents — such as the rudderless boat, the voyage for healing, the splashing water, the signal chips in the stream, and the carved branch or twig on the highway — are typical features found in Irish tales. Irish, too, is the theme of elopement and forest life, for not only do we find it in the elopement of Diarmaid with Grainne, and of the Sons of Usnach with Deirdre, but it constitutes a whole category of Irish romance. Moreover, Diarmaid and Grainne are driven into each other's arms by fate, the one by the influence of a love-spot, the other through a *geis* or taboo. So the love-potion, which may have been substituted by an English or French poet for a less familiar Celtic charm, is the compelling force in the tragedy of Tristan and Isolt.

When this somewhat barbaric but picturesque and powerful tale was told by Welsh and Breton minstrels at the courts of England and Normandy, which were permeated by the middle of the twelfth century by the pagan idealism and the fantastic

code of love evolved in Provence, the English and Norman romancers saw that here was a supreme opportunity. It was one of them doubtless who composed, in accordance with this amatory creed, a French poem, called the *estoire*, removing from the hero's career any casual amours that may have been associated with it, in order to make Tristan the lover of Isolt and Isolt alone, and introducing Isolt of Brittany in order to show that even the marriage bond and the desire of the flesh could not break his faith to Isolt of Ireland.

From the stock of the *estoire* the romance of Tristan forks into two main branches. One flourished mainly in France and Italy, and includes the version of Béroul, (a Norman poem written about 1165 and continued later), and that of Eilhart von Oberg (1185–1189). The other was dominant in England, Germany, and Scandinavia. It derives from the *Tristan* of Thomas, an Anglo-Norman, who probably was attached to the court of Henry II and wrote about 1175. Of his poem 3,144 lines survive from the latter part, representing only about a sixth of the whole. But his work attained such celebrity that we are able to reconstruct the rest from three mediæval redactions: the English *Sir Tristrem*, a poor jingling thing, written about 1300; the magnificent German romance of Gottfried von Strassburg, dating from the early thir-

teenth century; and the fairly close translation in Norwegian prose, made by Brother Robert in 1226.*

Before going on to a discussion of Robert's version we shall do well to review the story as he tells it.

Tristram, nephew of Mark, king of England, spent his youth in Brittany. Coming to Mark's court at Tintagel in Cornwall, he won his uncle's affection by his prowess and his harping. At this time there sailed to Tintagel a mighty warrior named Morhold, who demanded an annual tribute for the king of Ireland. Tristram slew Morhold in single combat on an island, receiving a poisoned wound, from which he suffered without relief. Setting out to sea in search of cure, he was driven by wind and wave to Ireland, where he gave an assumed name, and was healed by Morhold's sister, the queen. To her beautiful daughter, Isond, he gave instruction in writing and harping.

After his return to England, Tristram's enemies urged upon King Mark to take to wife the Princess Isond of Ireland, and to send Tristram on the perilous quest. So he went the second time in a new disguise and freed the land of a fire-breathing dragon. While Isond was healing his wounds, she discovered his identity and wished at first to avenge Morhold. On second thought she spared him, and won her father's approval of Tristram's suit on behalf of King Mark.

On the voyage to England, by a fatal mistake, Tristram and Isond drank together the love-potion intended for King Mark. During the bridal night, Bringvet, the maid, took Isond's place beside the king. Tristram and

Isond, under the compelling influence of the potion, continued to satisfy their love in secret. At last the lovers were betrayed to King Mark, who, however, doubted the evidence of his eyes, and exacted from Isond a test of chastity. Before the assembled court she swore an ambiguous oath and bore without injury the red-hot iron. Notwithstanding, Tristram forsook England for a time, sending back to the queen a fairy dog to console her. He returned again, and now Mark, although convinced of the lovers' guilt, compassionately allowed them to leave the court and live in the woods together. Here he discovered them sleeping in a grotto, a naked sword between them, and, once more persuaded of their innocence, he invited them back to court. But not for long; again detected, Tristram fled to the Continent.

Here he married, against his will, Isodd, daughter of the Duke of Brittany, whose name reminded him of Isond the queen, but, faithful to Isond his love, he did not consummate his marriage. At this her brother Kardin took umbrage, until he went with Tristram in disguise to England, and there saw the beauty of Isond and fell in love with her attendant. Soon the two knights were obliged to flee back to Brittany, and here Tristram was injured in war by a poisoned sword and lay at the point of death. Tristram knew that only Isond in England could heal his wound. Secretly he sent Kardin across the sea with a ring as token. His envoy succeeded, and Isond accompanied Kardin back. Long they were delayed by storm and becalmed outside

the harbor. Kardin had agreed with Tristram that if he were successful, his sails would be white and blue, but if Isond did not come, he would hoist black sails. Now the sails were glistening blue and white.

Isodd, Tristram's wife, came to him. "Dearest," she said, "Kardin is come; I see his ship."

Tristram asked her about the sails. But she had overheard the agreement and told Tristram that the sails were black. Tristram groaned; "three times he called Isond's name and the fourth time he gave up his spirit."

Isond, arriving too late, died with her arms about his neck. "And it is said that Tristram's wife buried Tristram and Isond on opposite sides of the church, so that they should be separated even in death. But it came to pass that an oak grew out of the grave of each, so high that the branches intertwined above the church, showing how great a love had been between them."

It is to the source of the Norse translation, to the poem of Thomas the Englishman, that we chiefly owe the psychological refinement and the profound passion that have made the tale of Tristan and Isolt immortal. What was tragic Thomas heightened, what was brutal he refined, and he produced a poem of chivalry and courtesy worthy to be read before Eleanor of Aquitaine or her troubadour son, Richard the Lion Heart. He was little concerned with mere adventure and intrigue, but he cared much for description of courtly life and subtle analysis of emotion. Thomas is almost as

delicately and profusely analytical of sentiment as Richardson seven centuries later. Yet for all his preciosity, this twelfth century poet is fresh and ardent. Though like Crestien de Troyes and other French poets, Thomas was influenced by the conventions of courtly love, his native genius burns and glows through the bars of formalism.

M. Bédier in his admirable critique of Brother Robert's translation, says, "That which he most willingly suppressed of his original is the poetry." This is true if we understand by poetry only those pages of sentimental analysis so characteristic of Thomas. A comparison of surviving passages from Thomas with the Norwegian text shows that when Robert does translate he is so faithful that if both were rendered into English, they would be nearly identical. Robert adds very little of his own, the exceptions being the list of Norwegian exports quoted in a previous chapter, a short prayer put into the mouth of the dying Isond, and the little romantic touch at the end about the oaks entwining their branches over the lovers' graves. The omissions, however, are considerable, and reduce the saga by about a half. One passage of reflection and introspection totaling 143 lines is matched in Robert by a blank. Tristan's revulsion of feeling upon his wedding night, when he catches a glimpse of Isolt's ring, and his long mental conflict is con-

densed to this: —"This night I must sleep here as beside my wedded wife: I cannot separate from her now, because I have married her in the hearing of many witnesses, and I am not able to live with her as a husband, unless I break my troth and abase my honor. However, let come what will." It sounds like a school edition of *Clarissa Harlowe.*

Has Robert lost or gained by his ruthless pruning ? It is by no means easy to pass judgment. We have lost many a long passage of dissected passion, and a laboring of the problems of the triangle in its many phases. Though of intense interest to the student of mediæval manners and psychology, these retards are somewhat too technical and prolonged to be of universal and permanent value. They do not possess the magic simplicity with which the sagas treat the emotions and which renders them eternal. On the other hand, Brother Robert has performed too drastic an operation. No one who reads his summary account of the drinking of the potion can help feeling that he has cut away not only the excrescence but also the living flesh of the romance. Though Robert runs no risk of boring the reader, he has fallen into the equal peril of playing only upon the superficial interest of action.

Who was this saga-man, this Robert, who first planted the rose of romance in the stony garden of

the North? Of rigid facts we have no more about him than about his contemporary who translated the same poem into German, Gottfried von Strassburg. We know only that Friar Robert came to be promoted to the dignity of abbot, and afterwards translated for King Hákon another romance, the *Elie de Saint-Gilles*. *Elis Saga* states simply that "Abbot Robert translated, and King Hákon son of King Hákon bade him translate this Norse book." The work is undated.

It will be observed that neither in *Elis Saga* nor in *Tristram* does Robert make mention of his foreign source. Apparently he takes no pride in being able to understand the *valskumál;* the *Norræn* rendering is the achievement. This brings up the question: Was Robert a Norwegian at all? Was he not rather one of those numerous English clerics who crossed the seas to enter monasteries in the North?

The style of his two sagas does not betray the secret — they could have been composed either by a native Norwegian or a foreigner well versed in his adopted language. His name, however, is an important argument for English nationality. It is not Norwegian but Anglo-Norman. In its present form the name is a French adaptation of the German Hrodebert — "illustrious in council," or "illustrious in glory." It occurs in Anglo-Saxon

records of the eleventh century, before the Conquest, but in nearly every instance the bearer is definitely known to be a Norman. After the Conquest the name was widespread in England, and not least among the clergy: Fountains Abbey had three abbots named Robert, before 1400. In 1200, as we have seen, Robert son of Sunnolf was taking a cargo to Norway. In Norway, however, the name Robert is not recorded before the time of the two translations containing that signature, and it does not occur again until the fourteenth century, when it appears several times in Norwegian diplomas, in most cases late in the century and borne by clerics. Significant for Robert's English origin is the fact that *Tristram* and *Eli* spell the translator's name in the foreign French form popularized by the Normans in England.

A man with a Norman name, a literary clerk, a friend of King Hákon, an abbot: where then was his abbey? The foundation whose members were in closest contact with the Norwegian court, and were likewise most frequently employed for English diplomatic service, was the abbey of Lysa, a day's journey south of the royal residence in Bergen. Clerks of Lysa served as ambassadors to England in 1217, 1218, 1221, 1229, and again as late as 1280. Lysa, like Hovedö, was an English foundation and continued, as we have seen, close to the

mother country. From the decade before *Tristram* was translated, the printed English Rolls supply no less than nine writs concerning ships or monks from Lysa. As for the abbots of Lysa, the first abbot in the second half of the twelfth century was certainly an Englishman, and a later abbot, Richard, about 1265, appears also to have been of that nation, if we may judge from his continued intimacy with Henry III. About 1246 the sister institution of Hovedö had an English abbot, Lawrence. Now the records of Lysa supply us with no abbot from 1194 to1265. Robert would fill admirably part of the gap.

Robert wrote his *Tristram* at the time when communication between Norway and England — clerical, diplomatic, commercial — had reached highwater mark. What an amazing array of voyages during the twelve months of 1225, the year before the *Tristram* was completed! In that summer the king's uncle, Duke Skúli, sent his ship over to Lynn on trade. Hákon himself presented a brace of hawks to Henry III, while the latter reciprocated with a welcome present of grain to Hákon, sent through the archdeacon of Bergen. On August 30, King Henry notified his bailiffs at Lynn, that, despite all previous ordinances, he had given Hákon's subjects permission to take eight thousand bushels of corn out of the country,

and bade them not hinder the Norwegians when they came to Lynn to buy goods. Not content with this, Henry — or the guardians of the young king — wrote again, on the following day, to the officials of Lynn to receive in a friendly way the men and merchants of Norway, this protection to last three years. Askeld, archdeacon of Bergen, and Friar William of Lysa were in England this summer, also John Steel, a leading Norwegian noble and a friend of the king, went to England on business, with a shipload of goods, and proceeded for a vigil to the shrine of Becket. In England he met Peter of Housesteads, the newly elected archbishop of Nidaros, on his way back from the pope. Steel left the prelate in England and sailed for Norway late in the summer. At sea he met King Hákon himself and heartened him with the news of Peter's elevation. This evidence of one year's activities is very striking when we consider that it is gathered from the scattered and imperfect records that have been preserved through seven centuries.

No wonder that at a time of such intimacy between the two countries, Anglo-Norman romances were being translated into Norse. What was happening meanwhile in the internal affairs of Norway? Does history throw any direct light upon the circumstances under which *Tristrams Saga*

was written? In 1225, the young king was twenty-one years old and his life was a rich composite of romance and adventure. In the early months of that year he was fighting in Sweden. After Easter he sailed north to Bergen for his wedding with his cousin, the Lady Margaret, Skúli's daughter. According to Sturla, "the liegemen and the best yeomen all over the Gula-thing were bidden. *There came, too, many learned clerks.* The bridal was set for Trinity Sunday, and lasted five nights, with an honorable feast, as was intended. The king treated all the men in the Yule-hall; but the queen was up in the summer-hall, and the women with her; *but the cloister-men were all by themselves in one room, and five abbots were over that company.*" So the monks were merry at Hákon's festival. Was it not natural that to celebrate his wedding the young king should have commissioned Brother Robert to translate an Anglo-Norman love-story?

But which? The answer was almost inevitable. The royal house of Anjou seem to have had a special predilection for the romance of Tristan. Thomas himself probably wrote for the favor of Henry II and Eleanor. Eleanor's daughters, Marie de Champagne and Mathilda of Saxony, both were the patrons of poets who wrote of Tristan. King John numbered among his regalia "Tristram's sword," and there is reason to believe that a magnificent

tile pavement formerly laid down at Chertsey Abbey, depicting scenes from Thomas' poem, was commissioned by Henry III in his last years. Hákon, who took the Angevin court for his model, must have known the romance well. There could be no more logical consequence of all the circumstances than that the *Tristan* of Thomas should have been translated into Norse in 1226.

The history of the Tristan legend in the Scandinavian North does not end with Robert's Norwegian version. Like most Northern romances, *Tristrams Saga* is preserved to us in Icelandic copies only, and one can never be sure how much the Icelandic scribes may have tampered with the text. From Iceland also we have quite another *Tristrams Saga*,* preserved in a fifteenth-century parchment somewhat older, as it happens, than the earliest existing copies of Robert's romance. That this later saga rests upon an imperfect memory of Robert's *Tristram*, not upon an independent version of the story, is proved by the fact that, while there are many alterations and much new material is added, the saga reproduces several incidents which are recorded only by Thomas and his translators and no episodes which are characteristic only of the Béroul group of romances. The general outline of the events of the Norwegian saga is there, only greatly condensed, the one hundred

and twelve printed pages of Robert being compressed into thirty-eight.

The Icelandic author pretends to a greater knowledge of Tristram's ancestry than the English poet. In fact, one-fourth of the saga elapses before the birth of the hero — a proportion quite consistent with the methods of the classical Icelandic family sagas. The names are bungled: Mark is called Morodd, Morhold is called Engres, while the unfortunate Irishman who falsely boasted of having slain the fire-breathing dragon is quite naturally confused with Kay, the vainglorious seneschal of Arthurian romance. Again, Brittany has moved into Spain, which nation is at war with Russia; the sword splinter is lodged in Tristram instead of in Morhold and leads to his discovery by Isodd on the first voyage to Ireland. The dragon-slaying is also telescoped into the first voyage, and there is a remarkable tale of how Tristram killed all his crew when they landed in Ireland. On the return voyage the love potion is not forgotten, but Bringven has advanced to the dignity of Isodd's foster-mother, "daughter of Carl Cusen." The lovers are in no hurry about going to King Morodd; they conveniently delay three months. King Morodd is more courteous and magnanimous than even Thomas intended, for he offers the princess to Tristram, insisting that it is more fitting that she be his bride.

The king married her, nevertheless, and events ensued which aroused his increasing suspicion. One night, returning from church, he found Tristram and Isodd abed together: so he sent them off to a cave. Here Isodd said, "What else is there to do but enjoy one's self in the cave?" "No," said Tristram, "let us each go to his own side of the cave." The king, of course, was listening. Eventually Tristram went to Spain, and there

married "the dark Isodd." At first he was constant to "the fair Isodd," but at length he yielded to nature and after three years a child named Kalegras was born. Tristram died in Jakobland, and the saga faithfully recounts the incident of the black and white sails. In keeping with Icelandic saga tradition the saga-man adds an account of the hero's family after his death. Tristram's uncle, after this sorrowful dénouement, sent for Kælegras, Tristram's son, and had him declared king over England. He married a daughter of the German Emperor and had a daughter and two sons, about whom there is a long saga. King Morodd penitently went to Jerusalem, where he ended his days in a monastery.

This boorish account of Tristram's noble passion has very properly been called a rustic version in distinction from Robert's court translation. In refinement of style it is as far below Robert as the French prose romance falls short of Thomas. As a tale for the winter fireside, however, the native Icelandic account was more homely than Robert's, and its popularity is attested by the greater number of manuscripts preserved.

One incident of the Tristan story finds a parallel at the end of *Grettis Saga*.† It is the episode of Isolt's ambiguous oath of wifely fidelity. According to Robert's translation, Isond, on her way to take the oath, had to cross a river by boat. On the other side Tristram was waiting in the disguise of a pilgrim. At her request the supposed pilgrim carried her from the boat to the dry land, where

he stumbled and fell on her. Therefore she was able to swear that no man had come near her except Mark and the pilgrim, and bore the hot iron without peril.

In the rustic Icelandic account, the boat does not figure; instead, Isodd comes riding, her horse sticks in a ditch, Tristram in the guise of a beggar pulls her out, and she manages to step over him.

In two respects — the disguise as a beggar, and the muddy ditch — the Icelandic saga corresponds to the Spes incident at the end of *Grettis Saga*. The history of Grettir, Iceland's most famous outlaw, slain in 1031, concludes with an account which seems rather less than more historical, describing how the hero was avenged two years later.

Thorbiörn, Grettir's slayer, fled to Byzantium — Miklagarth, "the Great City" — and took service in the Varangian guard. Thorsteinn, Grettir's brother, followed and slew him in the presence of the Varangians. He was arrested but released at the instance of a rich Byzantine woman, Spes, who fell in love with him. Her husband surprised them together, but Spes protested her innocence and offered to affirm it by oath. On the day appointed Spes proceeded to the church, accompanied by many noble ladies. There had been heavy rains, the road was wet, and they had to cross a large pool of water before getting to the church. Many poor people were gathered there, ready apparently to carry a parcel or earn an honest coin. Among them was a large-limbed beggar, supported by crutches, who proceeded to carry Spes across the puddle, but stumbled

and fell with her at the edge. However, she gave him some money. Going into the church, she took oath that she had given gold to no man and had suffered fleshly defilement of no man except the beggar and her husband. The beggar was, of course, her lover, Thorsteinn.

The story is better told here than in the other Scandinavian accounts, because the saga in which it is found is a work of greater literary merit. It is natural to suppose that the Spes episode is a tag supplied after the Tristram story became familiar in the North. It must be remembered, however, that *Grettis Saga* is largely historical, and that the incident is told of an Icelander who entered the Varangian service at Byzantium in 1033. Instead of supposing the whole a fabrication, one may possibly hold that the report of Thorsteinn's strategies was actually brought from the Great City with the history of Grettir's revenge; not that the trick was historically performed, but that a merry Byzantine tale was associated with a Northman in the Varangian guard. One version of the unfaithful wife's ambiguous oath was actually current there at this time in the popular Byzantine romance of the loves of *Clitophon and Leucippe.* If this surmise is sound, we have in *Grettis Saga* another example of the oral transmission of stories from the Great City suggested in a later chapter. This does not exclude the possibility that the con-

tinuator of *Grettir* knew also Robert's *Tristram* and that it colored his account of Thorsteinn.

More interesting, however, than the Spes episode in *Grettis Saga*, is the appearance, in another Icelandic saga, of the framework upon which a large portion of the Tristan story is built. So completely are the characters distorted that, upon first reading, the saga gives one only the vague impression of having been met with before, either in childhood or in dreams. Betrothal by proxy, indeed, is common enough in mediæval literature and need awake little curiosity. But when, on closer scrutiny, we find that, in this new romance, the proxy-wooing is joined by a sea voyage to the motif of the substituted bride, as nowhere in literature save here and in *Tristan*, we realize that there must be some connection between the two. Probability becomes certainty when we reach, later in the story, a journey for the healing that can come only from a relative of the enemy. Yet the narration of these themes is so different from that in Tristan's career as we know it, so much more radically different from Robert's saga than the rustic *Tristram*, or than the Oriental *Tyodel* from its Breton lay, that we seem to have here, not a readaptation of *Tristrams Saga*, but the survival of a Tristan tradition earlier than the twelfth-century *estoire*.

Although this saga, the romance of Harald Hringsbani * — Harald who slew his father Hring — has never been published, it was as much read in Iceland, to judge from the number of paper manuscripts, as the genuine *Tristram*. And the romance has sufficient antiquity to command respect. There are two accounts of Harald Hringsbani. The earlier of these exists only in *rímur*, based, we presume, on a lost saga. Here the geography of the Tristan story is distorted to such an extent that England takes the place of Ireland as the home of the bride across the sea, while the realm of the abused king is Denmark. In the later version, represented by both prose and metrical accounts, even England disappears, giving room to Constantinople — a consequence of the vogue of Byzantine romance.

The scene of the *rímur* opens in Denmark, which was ruled by King Hring, "over-king over twenty kings." When his queen died, his son Harald urged him to cease sorrowing and take a young bride. Hring accordingly commissioned the prince to secure for him the hand of Signy, daughter of Erik, king of England. Harald and his retinue sailed in state, their silken sails shot with gold. At the English court they were banqueted, Erik readily granted Hring's suit, and the proxy wooer set sail with the bride. They had, however, conceived an ardent passion for each other and were very unhappy as they approached Denmark. At this juncture appeared Odin in disguise, who is represented as a pro-

moter of strife. He offered a solution which was adopted. A farmer's daughter, likewise named Signy, was persuaded to change places with the bride. But Odin came in another disguise to the king and told him he had been deceived. Hring then tried to burn his son in his hall, but he escaped and offered to leave the land. Hring insisted on revenge and was slain in battle by Harald.

In violent grief over his hard fate, Harald with his warriors set sail over the raging sea. In the course of his adventures he overthrew in single combat a champion named Hermod. Harald was wounded, however, and the dying man declared that no one had power to heal that wound but his sister, who loved Hermod above all things, and would treat his slayer with shame. Harald sent his followers back to Denmark and went forth alone in search of cure. For a twelvemonth he wandered, until he came upon Hertrygg, the Greek emperor, Hermod's sister's son, out to avenge his uncle. Disguised as a beggar, Harald tricked the Byzantine into swearing brotherhood, on condition that he deliver Harald. Compelled by his oath, Hertrygg took Harald to Constantinople as his guest and, by a ruse, persuaded his mother to perform the cure.

In the end Harald and the real Signy reign over Denmark, and Hertrygg and the substituted bride over Byzantium.

The *rímur* are for the most part bald in their treatment of details. Their kennings are strained to the limit and inferior in conception. When the action, however, is unravelled from the cipher code of *rímur* metrics, it proves to be straightforward and dramatic. Only essentials are preserved. In this respect *Haralds Rímur Hringsbana*

bears a stylistic resemblance to the English *Sir Tristrem.*

The later version of the Hringsbani romance retains the above outlines until the king's death. But England is not mentioned; instead, Signy is the daughter of King Dag of Constantinople. The healing is quite different; the injunction about the relative is removed and the cure performed by a canny dwarf. Harald has adventures with monsters in Asia, and ends his days happily as king of Byzantium. This saga, though distorted, preserves some earlier features, no doubt more completely than the condensed *rímur.* Among them are passages as beautiful as any in *Tristan;* for example, the portion describing the wooing by proxy in Byzantium, and the subsequent voyage:

> He tried to console her, but she wept all the more. So he took her alone into a cabin and said, "Now tell me the cause of your grief, and I will help it if I can." "You alone can relieve me," she said, "you knew my desire before." "Do not speak so," said Harald: "that I cannot do, and so it needs must be." "Never," she cried, "if I can avoid it, will I behold your father with my eyes! It is pleasanter for me to sink into the sea and never more to see the sun, and this I will do; but though you will all be turned from me, yet will I continue to love you, as my life."

Thus has the tragedy of Tristan of Leonois become the tragi-comedy of Harald prince of Den-

mark. The setting is Scandinavian, and some of the incidents, such as the "burning in," are Norse. Other features are more or less suggestive of Tristan tradition; there are two maidens named Signy, as two named Isond; Mariadok, the accuser of Tristram, is paralleled by the disguised Odin who reveals the deception to Hring; the single combat, the parts taken by Hermod and Morholt, the sisters of the slain, and the sea voyage in search of healing are identical; Hertrygg performs services similar to those of Kardin, Tristram's friend; both are enamoured of the substituted bride. It is, however, the combination of the three basic themes of proxy-betrothal, substitution in bride-bed, and quest of cure that certainly connects Harald with Tristan. These motifs appear singly in other Icelandic tales. But it is only the unique union of the three themes that locks the chain of evidence identifying the Danish-Byzantine prince with his Pictish prototype.

From what stage of Tristan tradition, then, was the Hringsbani story derived? Surely not from Robert's translation. For the dissonances are greater than the harmonies. We are loath to concede such sweeping changes even to the cumulative imagination of habitually exact Icelandic recitation. How much more like is the Spes episode in *Grettla!* Where is the love potion that even the

rustic version retains? Where is that other Isolt who was remembered for centuries in the popular ballads of Iceland? In *Hringsbani* the substituted bride continues her rôle; in *Tristram* she is a temporary expedient. And the incident of wound and the voyage of healing is quite out of its setting and attached to another lady later in the story. When once the herbs of healing had been placed in the hands of the lady sought in marriage, could this triple knot of tragedy — cure, proxy-wooer, and substitution — once tied, ever have been disentangled by an Icelandic redactor?

It is easier to suppose that the romance of *Harald Hring-killer* is descended from a stage in the Tristan tradition earlier than that in the romances derived from the so-called *estoire*, before the love-potion was introduced, or the voyage of healing led to the first Isolt, or Tristan wedded Isolt of the White Hands. The Icelandic story may possibly represent a simpler, unquestioning form of the tale, when the leech was the second Isolt — a stage in the tradition before some poet placed all the skeins in the hands of his heroine Isolt of Ireland, leaving it to that other Isolt only to serve as a foil to the transcendent beauty of her rival and to try in the furnace Tristan's fidelity.

Hringsbani, moreover, is not the only disguise in which Tristan has come to the North inde-

pendently of Brother Robert's saga. The other versions arrived, not *via* England and Norway, but through Germany and Denmark, and in more recent times.* There are, for example, two Danish prose romances. One of them, first printed in 1857, is a translation of the German prose romance based upon Eilhart von Oberg's *Tristrant* and first printed at Augsburg in 1484. The other Danish account appeared in Copenhagen as early as 1792 and has since been published many times. It also professes to be translated from German and bears the strange title "A Tragical History of the Noble and Valiant Tristrand, Son of the Duke of Burgundy, and the Beautiful Indiana, Daughter of the Grand Mogul, Emperor of India." The contents are as extraordinary as the title. Although *Tristrand and Indiana* follows the German prose *Tristrant* in outline, the hero is the only character who keeps his original name; the countries, too, are all changed, and many details are altered. The German original, now lost, was perhaps intended as a political satire. This version was printed also in Norway, while in Iceland it was made the subject of *rímur* by the poet Sigurd Breidfjörd (1798–1846).

Tristan has lived on in Scandinavia in the life of the people, in ballad and folk-tale † as well as in written sagas and *rímur*. Unlike the Icelandic

ballads, the Tristram ballads of the Færoes and Denmark do not agree with any existing versions of a Tristan romance, and are apparently based on faint popular reminiscences. The name Isalt-Isolt, instead of Isond-Isodd of the sagas, points to German influence. The hero is called Tistrum or Tistram. The three Danish ballads — all different in theme — contain little in accord with the Tristan romances except that they are love stories. Apparently the names Tistrum and Isalt had become synonyms in the popular imagination for any two lovers. The curious Færoe ballad of true love, however, has slightly more in common with the real Tristan:

> Tistram and Lady Isin loved each other, but his parents wished to separate them. They sent him with a letter to the king of France: he should either give him his daughter in marriage or take his life. Tistram refused to be faithless to Lady Isin, and was accordingly hanged. In revenge Lady Isin sailed to France, devastated the country, and took her lover's body down from the gallows; then her own heart broke.

The rustic Icelandic *Tristrams Saga* had fallen upon a happy designation for the two Isodds: Mark's queen was *Isodd Bjarta*, Isodd the fair, and she of Brittany *Isodd Svarta*, Isodd the dark. The same terms are used by an Icelandic ballad on Tristan's death. Again they are employed in an Icelandic fairy tale entitled *Isól Fair and Isól*

Dark. The tale itself, however, is quite independent of the Tristan tradition.

In artistic merit all other ballads about Tristan yield to the Icelandic *Tristrams Kvœði.* Based upon Robert, it confines its action to the end of the story, telling in lines of naïve beauty the hero's last illness and the hurried voyage of Isodd to save him. For eighteen days she was delayed on the voyage before fair winds drove her to port. Then the other Isodd went in to her dying husband.

These words she spake, Isodd the dark,
When she had gone within;
"Black are the sails upon the ship
Which here is lying in."

Then comes the refrain:

For them it was fated only to sever.

These words she spake, Isodd the dark,
She said that they were true:
"Black are the sails upon the ship,
But are not blue."

Thereat Tristram turned to the wall and died.

They anchored the ship
Off the black strand,
They bore Isodd the fair
First to the land.

Long, long was the way
And narrow the street,
Ever heard she bells a-ringing
And song so sweet.

Into the church went Isodd;
A hundred men she led,
Priests were chanting in procession
Around the dead.

Twice Isodd looked down upon Tristram's body while "the priests stood round on the church floor with candle lights," and then she gave up her life on his bier. With the same restrained pathos the ballad describes their burial. This ballad of a later age may well have been sung upon the shores of the Icelandic fjord which kept intact the name of that first Drostan, the Pictish king. And the refrain which follows each verse shows how completely the simple Icelandic farmers realized the tragic undertone of the song. *Þeim var ekki skapað, nema að skilja* — "For them it was fated only to sever."

CHAPTER VIII

Breton Lays

Les contes que jo sai verais
Dunt li Bretun unt fait les lais.
Marie de France, *Guigemar*

AFTER *Tristrams Saga* no Old Norse contribution to mediæval romance makes a more direct appeal to the modern imagination than the Book of Breton Lays (*Strengleikar* or *Ljóðabók*).* The collection is preserved in the Library of Uppsala University in a unique manuscript, written about the year 1250, not by an Icelandic but a Norwegian hand. Thus it enjoys the distinction of being the only one of the Norwegian romance translations actually preserved to us today in the dialect in which it was first written down.

To the Norwegian translator we owe the clearest explanation in any language of what mediæval writers meant by *lais Bretons*. To contemporaries the matter may have been clear as day, but they could not, for all their casual allusions, have left the subject to the present generation wrapped in a thicker druidical mist. The word *lai* has been derived with almost equal success from Armorican,

Welsh, Irish, and even Anglo-Saxon words. Again the questions: Who were the "gentle Britons" who sang their songs to French and English audiences? Were they all Armorican minstrels from Brittany, or were there British musicians also from Ireland or Wales or Cornwall? The weight of testimony surely favors the Armoricans, and the most easily accepted theory is that their singers accompanied the hundred Breton noblemen who cast in their fortunes with William the Conqueror, and that they continued to cross the Channel and to recite their lays throughout England and France for two centuries thereafter, much as did itinerant Italian singers of the nineteenth century. Their subject-matter, originally Armorican, became more varied as they travelled. In France they attuned cynical fabliaux to the music of their rotes. In England they made a *lai* of Tristan from a Welsh theme, and a so-called *lai* about the viking career of Havelok the Dane, whom we have already met as Olaf Cuaran at the Battle of Brunnanburgh. Other Celtic musicians — Irish, Welsh, and Cornish, no doubt — pressed their Breton cousins in the field, and the French and English likewise may have been their imitators. As originally sung in Celtic, the *lais* were probably pure lyrics, musical utterances of moments of passion in the lives of Celtic personages, real or imaginary. As their meaning, im-

passioned enough to the singer, must have been mere Sanskrit to most of his hearers on the roadside or in the manor hall, it is natural to presume that he often prefaced the singing with an explanation of the story or of the circumstances under which the lay came to be composed, an elucidation presented, like the opera librettos of to-day, in a language intelligible to the public. In the same way, the Icelandic saga-men wove lucid prose about the complicated kennings of the ancient skalds, observing the way in which their Irish predecessors had interpreted in story form the cryptic lyric utterances of their bards. This story which introduced the lyric or was interspersed here and there between lyric passages, was originally, according to Gaston Paris's theory, distinguished as a *conte*.

But in course of time the word *lai* came to include the *conte*. And to-day, when of the original Breton songs not a single verse remains — only vague scraps of evidence in the shape of proper names and three Breton titles — the *lais* are represented only by *contes*. Mediæval poets in France and England took these *contes* and developed them into narrative poems, for the most part in rhyming couplets. To these poems, also — romances in miniature—contemporaries naturally applied the word *lais*.

The best known author of these *lais* or lays is Marie de France,* who wrote in England about 1165, at the court of Henry II. She composed later certain *Fables* and a *St. Patrick's Purgatory*. She has been plausibly identified with Mary, half-sister of Henry II, and Abbess of Shaftesbury in later life.† In the prologue to her twelve lays, she speaks of herself as a literary pioneer, who had indeed thought of translating some good history from Latin into Romance, but who saw no prospect of honor in a field in which so many others labored. Instead she remembered the lays that she had heard recited, set them to rhyme, and stayed awake many a night over them. "In thine honor, noble king, who art so wise and courteous, to whom every joy inclines and in whose heart all good takes root, I have undertaken to collect the lays, to put them into rhyme and retell them."

The Norwegian translator of the thirteenth century entertained none of the modern perplexities about the origin of the lays or the nationality of the Britons who first composed them. To his certain knowledge these Britons belonged to the southern branch of the race, living in Armorica or Brittany. The Norwegian collection, like the London manuscript of Marie's lays, opens with a prologue. It is the translator's own apology. Sagas, he asserts, are profitable for learning and

saints' lives for religion. Clearly the lays were something different, and required a defence, especially if the learned translator were a clerk:

> The conduct of those who lived in days of yore it pleased us to examine and investigate, since they were cunning in artifice, clear-sighted in reasoning, discreet in counsel, bold with weapons, courteous in manners, generous in gifts, and in all deeds of valor most celebrated. And because in days of yore there happened many more wonderful feats and unheard-of adventures than in our days, it seemed to us proper to instruct those who live now and are to come in those stories which cunning men made concerning the behavior of those who lived in old time, and had them written in books for everlasting remembrance, for the delight and instruction of coming generations, so that every one might better and brighten his life.

After these agreeable sentiments, he continues for some lines in a religious strain, and then adds, by way of dedicating the book to King Hákon, this very clear and valuable piece of information:

> This book, which the worshipful King Hákon caused to be done into Norse out of the Romance language (*völsko*), may be called a Book of Lays (*lióða bók*), since from the histories that this book related the skalds of South Britain (*Brœtland*) that lies in France made lay-songs (*lióðsonga*), which are performed on harps, rotes, symphonies, organs, tabours, psalteries, crowds, and all other sorts of stringed instruments, which people do for entertainment to themselves and others in this life; and here ends this preface, and following is the beginning of the songs.

But the songs do not yet begin. Instead there follows a paraphrase of the prologue to Marie's lays, apparently a free and clumsy rendering of the already obscure text of the original, but more likely based upon a reading that varied from the London manuscript. The translator, like the author, tells how the adventures upon which the Breton lays were based came to be recounted, and ends with the dedication to the king — lines which suit Hákon Hákonarson as well as they apply to Henry II, for whom they were originally intended. He omits Marie's learned allusion to Priscian, and adds that the lays were "made in Southern Britain," that the writer intends to "collect all the lays into one book," and hopes that they will please, not only the king, but the "courteous clerks and courtiers of his court."

The *Strengleikar* constitutes one of the three existing large collections of Breton lays, the second being the British Museum manuscript of the twelve lays of Marie in Anglo-Norman, of a period contemporary with the *Strengleikar*, and the third a slightly later Continental French selection of some twenty-four lays, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Other lays scattered here and there in French or Middle English bring the total of so-called *lais Bretons*, whether originating in the traditions of Brittany or not, barring duplicates, up

to half a hundred. The Norse manuscript is in no sense complete: some of its lays are preserved only in fragments, and it breaks off in the midst of the nineteenth lay. What is apparently a piece of the same manuscript, accidentally recovered in Iceland, and preserved in the Arnamagnean collection in Copenhagen, supplies pieces of two additional lays, making the Norwegian total twenty-one. Of these, seventeen are paralleled in Romance manuscripts, four are unique. In fact, the Norwegian Lay-Book contains more lays not found elsewhere than either of the other two great collections.

Among the twenty-one recitals in the Norse edition, eleven of the twelve lays ascribed to Marie de France in the London manuscript are reproduced, the missing lay being *Eliduc*. All but two of these occur also in the Paris collection, where five of the remaining Norse lays are found. One original, *Nabaret*, is contained only in a detached Anglo-Norman manuscript, while the other four, as already stated, offer no existing prototypes. The order followed by the Norse manuscript in introducing the narratives does not correspond to the arrangement in either of the large Romance collections, except that in all three *Guigemar* stands first. For example, *Lanval* is second in the Paris collection, fifth in the London manuscript, sixteenth in the Norse Book of Lays. That the lost

book used by the Norse translator was an Anglo-Norman manuscript from England, and not a French collection, is borne out by a comparison of the nine lays of Marie represented in all three existing compilations; when there are variant readings, in the great majority of cases, the Norse stands closer to the London than to the Paris text. We shall review the Norwegian collection, not in the order in which the lays stand here, but in four groups, according as they are found in the London manuscript of Marie, in the Paris collection, elsewhere, or only in the Norse. We shall stress only those features peculiar to the Norwegian text. In passing, it may also be profitable to call attention to themes related to the lays and likewise of possible Breton origin, found outside the Book of Lays in the romantic literature of Iceland.

Marie's *Guigemar*, though well-known, may bear a *résumé* from the Norwegian version in order to induce the proper "Breton" state of mind.

Guiamar was the son of the lord of Leon in Brittany, a knight valiant in arms, but one who spurned the love of woman. Hunting one day, he mortally wounded a hind, but the arrow, glancing back, pierced his own thigh, so that he rolled on the grass beside the hind. Whereat the animal spoke, saying that his wound could be healed only by one whom he would love in sorrow. Leaving his companions, Guiamar found by the shore a beautiful ship. He saw no one on it, but there was a magnificent bed, in which he laid him down in his pain.

The ship moved of its own accord across the sea, till it came to a walled city. Here a jealous old lord had shut up his young wife in a tower. She found Guiamar in the ship, took him to live with her, and cured his wounds. After a year and a half of secret love, the lady, fearing discovery, made a knot in Guiamar's shirt, on his promise that he would give his love only to her who could untie it; in return he fastened round her a girdle which only her lover could unlock. They were discovered. The husband allowed Guiamar to depart on his ship to his own land, where all ladies tried in vain to untie the knot. Two years the lady bore her sorrow, until she escaped by the same mysterious ship, and drifted to a castle in Guiamar's land, owned by a knight named Meriadus, who kept her in custody and strove in vain to unlock her girdle. Guiamar, chancing upon this castle, recognized the lady. He besieged the castle and took the lady and thus surmounted all his sorrows.

The quiet charm of Marie is conveyed through a gentle accent in the style, which differentiates this translation from the firm, resolute march of standard saga prose. The artifice of rhyming couplets is suggested by the use of alliteration — frequent throughout the Norwegian lays; and alliterating pairs, where the original has but one word, convey the polite deference of courtesy. Thus, when the hero goes to Flanders, in the Anglo-Norman text, *pur sun pris querre,* the Norse has *at roeyna roeysti oc riddaraskap sinn,* "to seek his prowess and knighthood." There may have been an independent Icelandic version of *Guiamar:* at any rate the

cataloguer Einarsen and likewise Müller recorded a manuscript of "Gvimar," now unfortunately lost.

Equitan, the rather vulgar tale of the seneschal's wife who was boiled alive with her lover in the tub designed to scald her husband, is briefly told. The translator felt called upon to add a little sermon, wherein he cites Job and Lazarus, and quotes St. Augustine. Four times he embellishes with "book-language" (Latin) and ends his narrative with the aphorism:

> Equitanus rex fuit, sed silenda est dignitas
> Ubi nulla bonitas, sed finis iniquitas.

Le Fraisne, the charming "Lay of the Ash," occurs (like *Lanval*) in a Middle English version as well as in the Norse. It is the tale of the foundling twin sister who became the wife of a rich nobleman.

The fourth of Marie's lays, *Bisclavret*, the "Lay of the Werewolf," merits some attention, as no lay has more ramifications in the saga literature and folklore of the North.

"*Bisclaret* was his name in the Breton tongue, the Normans called him *vargulf*." In olden time many men changed form and became wolves in the wilderness. In Brittany dwelt a knight with a wife who loved him well. One thing alone troubled her, that three days of every week her husband disappeared, no one knew whither. By persuasion she won from him his secret, that he became a wolf, and that if in this condition his clothes were taken from him, he could not resume human shape

until they were given back. Shocked at this news, the wife sent for a knight who had long sued for her love in vain. At her request, he went to the forest for Bisclaret's clothes, and fetched them to her. Bisclaret was thought to be dead, and the knight married his wife. Twelve months passed, and the king went hunting in the forest where Bisclaret ran wild. The wolf recognized the king, drew near, and kissed his feet. The king took the animal as a pet. It happened that there came to court the very knight who had married Bisclaret's wife. When the usually gentle animal saw him, he jumped upon and almost killed him. Some time later he saw his wife and attacked her also. The king compelled the woman to confess. She surrendered the clothes, and these were left in a room with the wolf. When the room was opened, Bisclaret was found sleeping in human form. The king honored Bisclaret, but banished his false wife and her lover from the land.

The translator condenses this story and even forgets to say that the wolf bit off the wife's nose, though he mentions her noseless descendants. He adds, however, a personal testimony that is very curious as coming from one so pious and learned and well versed in Augustine: — "He who translated this book into Norse saw in his childhood a mighty freeholder who shifted shape. At times he was a man, at times in wolf's skin. And he told all that the wolves did meanwhile." This little *mirabile* of the Norse translator reflects in its most primitive terms the European conception of the werewolf — the man-beast doomed by the nature

of his being — as opposed to the Asiatic belief in the man transformed into a beast by an enchanter. In Icelandic literature the werewolf legend appears in different form in three mediæval romantic sagas of foreign origin, none of which have as yet been published in full: *Tyodel*, *Áliflekk* and *Jón Leikari*. In order to place these three stories properly in the family tree of the werewolf, let us summarize his Irish genealogy as traced by Professor Kittredge.*

The Werewolf's Tale had once its home in Ireland and came with the Faithless Wife in *Bisclavret* in its purest form to Brittany. Here the knight is a werewolf by birth, subject (like our Norwegian freeholder) to periodic fits of lycanthropy; he simply puts off his clothes and becomes a wolf for three days in every week. In a second stage, the Werewolf's Tale was combined in Ireland with the story of the fairy mistress: in this form also it crossed to Brittany, and became the subject of a lay preserved to us in a Picard manuscript of the thirteenth century as the *Lai de Melion* (not represented in Norwegian). In *Melion* the story is attached to Arthurian romance, and the husband's transformation is brought about by a congenital talisman — a magic ring. Again, in a third form, combined with other themes, the story shot across from Ireland into Wales, where it became apparently a *mabinogi*, lost in the origi-

nal Welsh but preserved in *Arthur and Gorlagon*, a Latin redaction of the fourteenth century at the latest. Still further modified, the Werewolf's Tale persists today in Irish folklore, the natural werewolf character having given place to external enchantment.

In *Tyodels Saga*,* the first of the Icelandic werewolf romances, the scene is Syria, but this strange geography does not conceal the evidence that the story is derived from the Breton *Bisclavret*. The clothing, the lover, the king, the bitten nose, all the essentials are there, although the Asiatic trappings are more gaudy. The saga is late, the oldest manuscript dating from about 1600. The Byzantine or Oriental tendency of Icelandic romance, which we have noticed in the *Tristram* and *Hringsbani* sagas, may be held responsible for the shifting to Syria. Similarly, the natural development of the Werewolf's Tale, tending in the course of time to draw all sympathy away from the wife, has made the wife of Tyodel, the Syrian knight, a woman guilty in love even before she put Tyodel out of the way. She is not, like Bisclaret's spouse, shocked into unfaithfulness by her repulsive discovery: in fact, it is said that she caused the death of three husbands. Similarly, the hero has become more than a mere werewolf, for Tyodel's transforming powers are not inherited, but acquired through his own

researches. And he is not limited to the wolf's form, for he can take on "the skin of a gray bear and a white bear and of other animals" — a modification consistent with the rôle of the polar bear in the folklore of the far North. As a white bear and not a wolf, he is made a pet by the King of Syria. Is the tale, then, an Icelandic polar-bear version of the Norwegian *strengleikr* — a popular recasting like the Icelandic *Tristrams Saga?* If so, this is the only evidence that the Norwegian Book of Lays was read in Iceland. The case against derivation from the Norwegian *Bisclaret* is strengthened by the fact that the Syrian story reproduces the biting off of the wife's nose, found in Marie's poem but not recorded by the Norse translator, who has the wolf tear off the lady's clothes. We must suppose, therefore, that the Icelandic saga is an offshoot of an independent translation of the *Lai de Bisclavret*, which doubtless made the voyage to Norway in another manuscript, quite distinct from the collection used by him who translated the Book of Lays into Norse.

The second Icelandic werewolf figures in *Álaflekks Saga.** Here the wolf-fits are not periodic, and there is no faithless wife. Áli is enchanted by a wizard, who places him under a spell to be a wolf with the following condition of release: that some one shall beg his pardon when he is captured. If

this story, with its Oriental twist, be traced back to Ireland, its relationship will be proved not close to Marie's version, but to those modern Irish tales in which the wolf nature has given place to enchantment.

In a third Icelandic romance, *Jóns Saga Leikara* * (Gamesome John), the transformation is likewise a spell, laid upon the hero in this instance by a wicked stepmother, and the condition of release is similar. None of the manuscripts of the saga date before 1600, but an earlier version of the romance is represented by *rímur* of about 1400.

Jón, a young French knight, went forth in quest of adventure. He came to a strange city, which he proceeded to deliver from a dragon which had for thirty years slain all who entered. The king received Jón with thanksgiving. At dinner he was astonished to see that the queen was served by two youths, closely cropped, each lacking his left eye; and thereafter two men bore in on a cloth before her a man's head, apparently just severed; at which the queen wept violently. After dinner, Jón won the favor of the king's lovely daughter, and, in the morning, she came secretly to his bedchamber. Later the king and his court came into the room to escort Jón to mass, and the lovers were in danger of discovery, when suddenly an alarm was raised. The wolf, which had been devouring the king's herd, had come in between the walls. The court rushed forth and captured the wolf; thus Jón was spared.

As Jón was about to leave the city, the king offered him as a present anything that he might choose. Jón asked for the wolf which had been the indirect means of

saving his life. Now it developed that the animal for which Jón showed such gratitude was no other than a son of the king of Flanders, whose stepmother had placed him under a spell until some one should ask for the wolf's life rather than anything else in the world. Jón also questioned the king about the strange happening at dinner, and he told him that the head was the head of the queen's lover, and that the two youths were the twins born of her guilty amour. Jón and the werewolf became sworn brothers; they burned the wicked stepmother. Jón married the princess and became king of the land.

The condition for release from the spell is closely akin to that imposed upon Áli. The tale further has a feature in common with the third stage of the Irish Werewolf's Tale as preserved in the Welsh-Latin story of *Arthur and Gorlagon*, mentioned above. This characteristic is the gruesome penance of the disloyal wife, apparently a western variant of the Oriental anecdote about the lady compelled to eat with the dog. In the Welsh story, Arthur observes, at his host's table, a sad-faced woman kissing a bloody head on the plate before her. Questioning Gorlagon, he learns that she was Gorlagon's former wife, now deposed in favor of another, and that the head was the head of her lover. It was she who had transformed Gorlagon into a werewolf. Thus the themes of the head-penance and the werewolf are more closely bound together than in the Icelandic saga, which ex-

hibits a baffling lack of motivation, episode following episode in the enchanted city with the bewildering inconsequence of a dream. Nevertheless, there is a purity of theme in this simple little romance, a freedom from the rococo embellishments which disfigure the *lygisögur*, and a certain Anglo-Norman catholicity. We have here, without reasonable doubt, a translation. In fact, this romance in miniature, with its freshness and unsolved riddles, makes a strong appeal for admission into the sacred canon of *lais Bretons*.

Lanval, the fifth lay in the sequence, a tale of the knight of Arthur's court and the fairy mistress who took him on her horse to Avalon, is faithfully reproduced.* So also is the next poem, *Les Deus Amanz*, where the lover dies in trying to fulfil the imposed condition of carrying the princess to the mountain top. The latter tale presents a type of the "dangerous princess" that is reflected in the Icelandic romances of *Hermann and Jarlmann* and *Vilhjálm Sjóð*. In translating *Yonec*, the lay of the bird lover who visits the lady shut up in a tower, the Norwegian straightens out a bit of geography puzzling in the four French texts by locating the tower very definitely in Cornwall. To *Laustic*, the lay of the nightingale to which the lady of Saint Malo pretended to listen when she looked out of the window toward her lover's estate, the trans-

lator adds one or two observations about the nightingale's song. "Of this the Bretons made a song and they call this song 'Laustik'; thus it is called in Breton, but in Romance 'Russinol,' and in English 'Nictigal.'"

Milun, the ninth piece, unlike the preceding lays, is greatly condensed in the Norse version, and discrepancies in proper names indicate that it is translated from a lost Romance version differing from those preserved. This, it will be remembered, is the tale of the lady reunited after twenty years to her lover by their son. *Chaitivel*, the "Lay of the Sorrowful One," short as it is in the original, is also abbreviated in the Norse, and the beginning is lost, owing to a gap in the manuscript. The Sorrowful One is an unfortunate youth, the sole survivor of four knights who fought in tourney outside the walls of Nantes for the love of a beautiful lady: instead of giving consolation to the wounded man, she mourned his three comrades. *Chievrefoil*, the "Lay of the Honeysuckle," the eleventh and last of Marie's lays reproduced in Norwegian, is called *Geitarlauf*. Tristram cast in Queen Isolt's path, as her train passed through the wood of Cornwall to Tintagel, a hazel wand on which he had carved the legend of their love, how they depended on each other like the hazel and the honeysuckle.

All of these eleven lays of Marie, except *Laustic* and *Chaitivel*, are found in the Paris collection. The other five Paris lays represented in the *Strengleikar* are *Desiré*, on a fairy-mistress theme; *Tydorel*, in which the relations are reversed, and a mortal woman is wooed by a fairy knight who lives in a lake; *Doon*, containing (like *Milun*) a combat between father and son; the unpleasant *Lai du Lecheor*, of which a leaf is missing in the manuscript; and *Graalent*, another fairy-mistress story and one that unites several of the Celtic characteristics of *Guigemar* and *Lanval* with those of the Germanic swan-maiden. The last lay is represented only by a fragment found not in the Uppsala manuscript but in the four detached leaves that may be added to the Book of Lays. The Norwegian *Lecheor* is interesting philologically because to it we are indebted for one of three original Breton words — not proper names — preserved in all the canon of lays. This is the word for libertine written in the title: "*Leicara Lióð*, but in Breton this lay is called *Gumbelauc*." This note does not occur in the Old French manuscript. The other two Breton words are those for "nightingale" (*laustik* = *l'eostik*) and "werewolf" (*Bisclavret* = *bleiz lauaret*). In general, as already observed, the five Norse texts paralleled only in the Paris collection do not make the easy equations in translation exhibited by the eleven

of obvious Anglo-Norman origin, and thus they support our theory of a lost original obtained from England.

Nabaret, the seventeenth lay to be accounted for, is related elsewhere only in an Anglo-Norman version in the Sir Thomas Phillipps Library. It is the shortest and probably the most insipid of all. Naboreis was king of Cornwall; his wife was very fond of dress, and thus worried her husband; she suggested that he punish her by letting his beard grow long and shaving it. The translator has missed the point of the original. There the mocking wife suggests that her husband might annoy her in turn by letting his beard grow long. By adding the suggestion that Naboreis shave it again, the translator must have dazed his contemporaries as much as he dazes us.

We have now remaining four lays, the most significant in the collection from the fact that they have no existing prototypes in Romance literature. The first of these, the lay of *Gurun*, it is said in the text, was known by the people of Soissons.

Gurun was son of the king of Brittany. When he came of age he was sent to the king of Scotland, his mother's brother, who knighted him and made him earl of the Welsh. Gurun loved the queen's niece, but dared not reveal his affection until he was assured of some success. One day he was in the woods with his harper, a man who knew women's counsels, and he

asked him about the women of the land. The harper praised Gurun's lady above all others, and Gurun solicited his help to win her. The harper went to the queen's bower and urged the girl to give Gurun her love. She replied that she had a dwarf whom her father had given her with the request that she favor only the suitor of whom the dwarf approved. She sent the dwarf to Gurun, who entertained him well, offering him a silver cup and a silk cloak. But the dwarf refused the presents. He returned to his lady and told her that Gurun was a good fellow but too peace-loving. "Would you have him killed," she asked, smiling, "for my sake?" "Fie!" cried the dwarf, "I see that you love the knight already; you have been listening to this whoremongering harper." The harper overheard this and quarrelled with the dwarf. But the girl made them shake hands. While the queen was away at church, the dwarf brought Gurun to his love, and watched them kissing each other. However, he said to himself: "This knight is good at kissing; it would be better if he could ride as well, with a knight's weapons."

Now at that time a mighty army from Murray ravaged the king's lands, and Gurun went forth to battle. He wore a sleeve of silk which his love had given him, and fought well. He met and killed the son of the king of Ireland, but was injured by a Gotlander named Malkus. The king of Scotland's troops were so indignant that they drove the enemy into the woods. Gurun's wounds were dressed by a lecch. The lady, when she heard of his injuries, grieved much and sent her dwarf, who told him of her great love. Gurun sent his harper to assure her that he would soon be well. When the harper returned, Gurun told him to make a new lay of it. And this is a lay of the sweetest music and is called *Gurun*. When Gurun recovered, he took the harper, the

dwarf, and the maid with him, and all went together secretly to Cornwall (*Cornbretaland*), where the king received them well and Gurun became the greatest knight of his day.

The part played by the harper in this lay gives it, although rather unworthy, a Breton character. There is mystery about the word Gurun. The *strengleikr* represents not the only lost lay that bore this name. There was at least one other, and apparently a different story altogether. This second version was very popular, for it is referred to, apparently, no less than five times in mediæval literature. The text has been lost, probably because its pure lyric quality was too slight in episode. Thomas tells us that Isolt sang to herself how Guiron was killed for love of a lady, and how the count, her husband, gave her Guiron's heart to eat. Again, in the Saga, Tristram hears the lay performed by a harper at the court of King Mark. Also in the romance of *Anseis de Cartage* and in the *Chanson de Loquifer*, *Gurun* is played by a Breton. And finally, the Norse translator betrays some knowledge of a second lay by stating, "Many recite the story in another fashion, but I have read it only in the way I have told you."

Strandar Lióð, "The Lay of the Beach," the second story in this group, is, in a sense, no lay at all, but merely an account of the geographical

circumstances under which a lay was composed, leaving us quite in the dark as to the Breton subject-matter. Possibly there were no words, merely a melody; or the words, like those of the lost *Gurun*, may have been purely lyrical, containing too little narrative for permanent record. At any rate, we have here an example of how a *conte* came to be told about a *lai*.

King William, who conquered England, had this lay made. After strengthening his power in England, he took ship at Southampton for Normandy, where vassals had revolted against him. He put down the trouble and later started for England. He reached Barfleur and waited there a long time for a good wind, amusing himself with hunting cranes with hawks. Then he sent messages into Brittany to the woman most skilled in making lays, asking her to compose a new one with the sweetest melody, and it should be called "The Lay of the Beach." In this lay he wished to commemorate his pleasant pastimes on Barfleur beach, waiting for a wind. Accordingly, he sent into Brittany all the best harpers whom he had with him, with presents for the woman. It was not long before she had completed the lay, and taught it to the harpers, who returned and played it before the king. Those who were skilled said that never before had they heard a lay so good as this, and the king liked it better than all other lays. No harper or player succeeded who did not know how to perform the piece well, and it travelled through all courts of kings, dukes, and earls. There was no queen or noblewoman who did not enjoy it. Even in our time there are many who call it the most agreeable and kingly lay. "Now," ends the

translator, "I have read nothing more in Romance (*volskumale*) about this lay, and I will not add any more to it except God bless the king who had this book turned into Norse for the joy of men now living and to come, and have mercy upon him who wrote it! Amen."

The third unidentified tale, "The Lay of Old Richard" (*Ricar Hinn Gamli*) recites how a lady, in order to enjoy a forbidden love, put those who watched over her to sleep by the power of her harp.

I will tell you of a lay and relate the story about which it was made. This lay is called "Richard the Old." Long ago there dwelt in Brittany a mighty king, who had a beautiful daughter. He loved her much and honored her, because she was fair and courteous and could play well on the harp and fiddle. A famous knight of that nation fell in love with her. When the king heard of it, he was angry, and stationed knights in her bower to watch her day and night. One day, after dinner, sitting at the window, she saw her lover in the garden under her chamber. She beckoned him and told him to go into the garden under her bedroom and wait. She returned to her people, took her harp, and played it and made them content. She served them wine also, and in a little while they were all asleep. Then she called her maid and directed her to play the harp without stopping until she came back. Going to her lover, she talked with him until they were ready to part. When she came back, her guardians were still sleeping. Then she went from them to her father's sleeping room, and said to him, "My lord, pardon me for God's sake: follow me to my chamber." Her father assented and followed her and saw her keepers sleeping. She showed them to him and said . . . .

The manuscript stops at this tantalizing point. But we may make a pretty good guess as to what she said. A triumphant little speech, not lacking perhaps in sarcasm, dilating upon the futility of trying to keep a woman from her lover. Such an immoral moral is a commonplace of mediæval literature, which we discover, for instance, in *Flamenca*, in a number of *chansons de la mal mariée*, and in the *Donnei des Amants*.*

This last, a thirteenth-century poem on the art of love, affords a more complete parallel to *Ricar* in an incident which it relates of Tristan. Here, too, we have a woman in her bower, guarded by a number of knights to keep her from her lover. In both stories, the power of music is emphasized: in the *Donnei* Tristan attracts Iseult's attention by imitating the exquisite descant of the nightingale. In both, the lady steals past the sleeping guards to her lover. The association of the tale in the *Donnei* with Tristan, the Breton geography, and the magic effects of the harp in *Ricar* — a motif not exclusively but characteristically Celtic — suggest that both tales are true Breton lays.

This is not true of the fourth member of the group; the scene is removed to Italy, although, for all that, the story may have been adopted by Breton harpers. The translation is preserved in very imperfect condition in the four detached

leaves of the *Book of Lays*. It may be called "The Second Lay of the Two Lovers." Just as Marie's *Lai des Deus Amanz* was associated with a certain mountain, so this other love story seems to have been a place-tale, attached to a cave in Italy.

The text is too broken to allow us to reconstruct the story accurately. It appears that a son of the Roman Emperor and a daughter of the Duke of Placentia, mere children, fled away together. In consequence, a war arose between the Emperor and the Duke, which ended with the destruction of Placentia. Meanwhile, the two lovers sheltered themselves in a cave near Placentia, where a shepherd brought them the necessary provisions. A violent snow-storm came upon them, raging for many days, so that no one could go forth. The cave entrance was covered by drifts, and when at last the faithful chamber-boy found the opening and came in to the two children, they were lying in each other's arms, so weakened by hunger that they could not be revived, but died the same day. Apparently the chamber-boy made the lay about the two lovers.

Were there many more lays in the complete Norwegian collection, and others like those four not contained in any existing Romance manuscript? It is impossible to tell. Most of the notable lays are accounted for. We miss Marie's *Eliduc* and various lays scattered in Romance manuscripts: *Tristan Fou*, *Cor*, *Melion*, *Ignauré*, and *Trot;* and in Middle English *Orfeo*, *Dégaré*, *The Earl of Tolouse*, *Sir Gowghter*, and Chaucer's *Arviragus*. Ten of the

twenty-four lays of the large Paris collection are not translated, including fascinating *Guingamor*, as well as *Tyolet*, *Cort Mantel*, *Espine*, and five so-called lays that obviously have nothing to do with the Bretons. The Story of the Mantle is represented in Icelandic romance, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Who was the translator of the Norwegian *Book of Lays?* The *Strengleikar* are contained in the same manuscript volume at Uppsala as the *Elis Saga*, a translation made by "Abbot Robert." Brother Robert of *Tristrams Saga* comes to mind at once as a candidate for translator of the Breton lays. But there are several considerations operating against such an assumption, four of which are especially convincing. In the first place, the translator, unlike Robert, omits signing his name, though he refers to himself many times. Again, in the "Lay of the Honeysuckle," the forms of proper names that he uses for the Arthurian characters differ from those in Robert's *Tristram*. Further, there are no marked singularities of style to connect the *Strengleikar* with the other two romances; and finally, the translator, though painstaking in his desire to convey the entire meaning of his original, makes several mistakes in interpreting a language which is not his own. Brother Robert was probably an Anglo-Norman by birth; obvi-

ously the translator of the lays was a Norwegian. Like Robert he was a clerk, a man of extreme piety and profound learning, though not too profound to be thrilled by the picturesque marvels of the Celtic imagination, nor too pious to enjoy retelling for the court of Norway the itinerant songs that had delighted the proud knights and ladies of lands where chivalry was a rival religion.

CHAPTER IX

Arthur and Charlemagne

Taillefer, qui mult bien chantout,
Sor un cheual qui tost alout,
Deuant le duc alout chantant
De Karlemaigne e de Rollant
E d'Oliuer e des uassals
Qui morurent en Renceuals.

Wace, *Roman de Rou*

The Matter of Britain

WE have followed the introduction into Iceland of Arthurian legend in its pseudo-historical form in Geoffrey's *Historia* and *Merlin's Prophecy.** We have examined the Norwegian collection of Breton Lays, and traced the ramifications of the love story of Tristan and Isolt in Scandinavian saga and ballad. All this body of narrative based on Celtic lore pertains to the Matter of Britain. The survey has by no means exhausted the Old Norse sagas belonging to this category; and a cursory glance at least must be given the Northern redactions of those romances that, blossoming forth in profusion in France and England after the middle of the twelfth century, amplified the too meagre details of Arthur's life

given by Geoffrey and satisfied the public curiosity for more knowledge of the achievements of the Round Table. Our interest in this Northern collection is further excited by the hope that, like the *Book of Lays*, it may contain records of the Matter of Great and Little Britain, of which the French or English originals are now lost.

The earlier Arthurian romances that flourished in England about the middle of the twelfth century, whether in English or Anglo-Norman, have for the most part perished. They were superseded by the elaborate metrical structures raised over the several legends by the courtly French poet Crestien de Troyes. About 1160 he composed his lost *Tristan*, which was followed within the decade by *Erec* and by *Cliges;* toward 1170 by *Lancelot*, or the *Conte de la Charrette;* a little later by *Ivain*, or the *Chevalier au Lion;* and finally, about 1175, by his unfinished *Perceval*, or the *Conte del Graal*. Of Crestien's six romances three are represented by Icelandic redactions. In *Erex Saga*, Icelanders could read how Evida reproaches her husband for his life of loving inaction until he puts on his armor and takes her forth with him ruthlessly in quest of many adventures.* *Ívens Saga*, like its foreign source, faithfully recounts the hero's courtship of the mysterious lady of the fountain, whose fairy origin is so thinly veiled, and the exploits per-

formed with the assistance of the grateful lion which he had rescued from a dragon.* In *Parcevals Saga* there are but vague allusions to the quest of the Grail; we meet the forest youth, a simple lad at Arthur's court, who overthrows the Red Knight and goes forth upon a glorious career.† While the other two translations contain no signature, *Íven* gives the following account of its origin: "Here ends the saga of Lord Íven, which King Hákon the Old had turned out of French (*franzeizu*) into Norse." This statement would indicate that the saga was drawn from Crestien's French poem, not from an Anglo-Norman redaction. But there is nothing to preclude transmission over England, where Crestien's works were doubtless read with the same interest as on the Continent. The Norse redactions of Crestien's romances do not correspond closely to the poems as we have them in Continental French. They do not exhibit the pains taken by the translator of *Tristram* and the Lays. All three are radically abbreviated and lose most of the atmosphere of *amour courtois* in which Crestien steeped his romances. The relation of the sagas to their sources is best explained by assuming that they are in fact translated from Norman redactions of Crestien's poems made in England.

The Matter of Britain, as represented in Scandinavia, remarkably complete in many ways, is yet

distinctly defective. Several important branches of Round Table romance with which England was familiar in the fourteenth century are without representation. The close connections between England and Norway which facilitated literary exchanges in the preceding century had ceased. Galahad, who succeeded Perceval as Knight of the Holy Grail, was consequently unknown to the Old Norse world. Of the whole beautiful legend of the Grail the North was unfortunately ignorant. It was equally unfamiliar with the loves of Lancelot and Guinevere. To the peerless Gawain is dedicated only the five chapters of *Valvers þáttr*, a continuation of *Ívens Saga*. There is no trace of the conception of that Gawain who became the English pattern of exemplary conduct in fourteenth-century imagination, the hero of the best of all Middle English romances, *Gawain and the Green Knight*.

The North, however, possessed the story of the mantle by which the chastity of the ladies of Arthur's court was tested. When a lady put on the mantle it instantly shrank in proportion to her guilt. In the French fabliau of the *Mantel Mautaillié*,* from which the Norwegian version was derived, it is the wife of Caradoc who passes the test and acquires the mantle. So close, however, is the fabliau to the border-land of Breton lays and

to Biquet's *Lai du Cor*, where the test is performed by means of a drinking-horn, that we might have discussed *Möttuls Saga* in the chapter on Lays. The Norse account was translated, we are told in the saga, from *valsk* by order of Hákon Hákonarson. It corresponds to existing French versions, sometimes enlarging, sometimes abbreviating. Changes in names and characters, however, indicate a variant source which probably came from England. While none of the extant French manuscripts show Anglo-Norman dialect, we know that this fabliau was popular in England. Sir Thomas Gray in his *Scalacronica* (begun in 1355) gives a summary of the story, and it is the subject of an English ballad, "The Boy and the Mantle." Accounts of a chastity mantle are preserved also in the Gaelic language, in which they no doubt originated.

The Mantle story came to the North in yet another form. To this second account are devoted the *Skikkju Rímur* (Mantle Rhymes) and a portion of *Samsons Saga Fagra*.* This other tradition supplies what might be called the *enfances* of the Mantle, telling how elf-women, or fairies, had been at work upon it. The Scandinavian account is the only version which gives a motivation to the early history of the Mantle. *Skikkju Rímur* exhibits variations common to the English ballad

that are not found in the French fabliau, and manifests more English local color, including the name of Yarmouth.

For the "Saga of Samson the Fair" no prototype is known in English or French. This romance, which will reward a careful reading, may be summarized as follows:

King Arthur of England had a son called Samson the Fair. At his father's court was an Irish hostage, Princess Valintina, with whom he fell in love. Thinking such a match unequal, the king sent her home to her father, King Garlant of Ireland. King Garlant took his daughter on a voyage to visit his realms beyond the seas in Brittany. Here a thief named Kvintalin enticed the maiden into the woods by the luring music of his harp. Search for her proved vain, and Garlant returned sorrowful to Ireland. Meanwhile the girl was protected from harm by the magic arts of Samson's foster-mother Olimpia. Believing Valintina dead, Samson was about to marry a Breton princess, when he found Valintina and captured Kvintalin. The thief promised to become his man, and so did his dwarf Grelant. For punishment, the abductor was sent on a distant voyage to the Land of the Little Maids to steal the precious mantle of many colors that served as a test for chastity. The second part of the saga recounts the search, reminding the reader of various Celtic examples of quests for magic objects. It records the early history of the mantle, describes its wonderful properties, and tells of the elf-women who wove it in fairy land. Valintina passed the test and was awarded the mantle. Samson celebrated his wedding, and ruled happily over England.

To be sure, this romance contains one episode with a Teutonic coloring, the killing of a troll in combat under a waterfall, reminding one of Béowulf's similar exploit, and of an adventure of Grettir's; and the names Valintina and Olimpia have a Latin look. But for the rest, the romance is steeped in Celtic atmosphere. All the incidents of the first part of the story take place in Britain, Ireland, or Brittany, and surely the Land of the Little Maids was as much Celtic territory as St. Brandan's isle. Garlant, Grelant, and Kvintalin are names that would have sounded natural on the lips of Breton minstrels, and Samson is the name of a popular Breton saint. Besides the magic mantle, there is also the hart which entices away the follower, so familiar in Arthurian romance. And one of the dominant motifs is identical with that of the abduction of Guinevere, the harp and the rote episode in *Tristan*, and *Sir Orfeo*. All these, in common with *Samsons Saga*, tell of the queen or princess lured away to another world, and won back by her husband or lover. So truly and essentially Celtic is this Icelandic tale of Samson that we need have no hesitation in setting it in the canon of British romances.

One more Icelandic romance in which the scene of action is the British Isles merits attention. Its antiquity is attested by a wealth of manuscripts

dating back to the fifteenth and, in one case, to the fourteenth century. Though it is encrusted with extraneous matter and contains a mixture of Northern and foreign themes, its essential parts seem genuinely Celtic. The "Saga of Álaflekk" (Áli with the Birthmark)* has been mentioned twice before in connection with its two central themes which link it to the "Lay of the Werewolf" and to Tristan's voyage of healing. The romance of Áli is the story of a wonder-child, born to Richard, king of England, and exposed in the woods by his command, but brought up by peasant people as their son. His destiny was fought out in a long-drawn feud between friendly and hostile fairies. First he was transformed into a wolf. Then, stricken with a strange disease, he wandered over the world in search of cure from the relative of the troll woman who inflicted it. Healed at last, he came happily to his throne in England.

The Matter of England

The romances derived from the Matter of England — of Teutonic origin as distinct from the Celtic themes of the Matter of Britain — might well have been popular in the North, especially so when their sources, as we shall see, were often ultimately Scandinavian. But they were slower to assume final form, being fashioned more or less

after Arthurian and Carolingian models, and did not reach the height of their popularity in England until active intercourse between England and Norway had ceased. In Northern literature we find no trace of romances dealing with Havelok, Aelof, Waldef, or Hereward the Wake. Of the three great cycles of Horn, Guy of Warwick, and Bevis of Hampton, only the last is represented in the Icelandic sagas: *Bevers Saga* is translated from a lost version, apparently Anglo-Norman.* At a later date certain themes of the Horn cycle became current in Iceland, in a roundabout way, through a chain of French adaptation and German translation, in the *Pontus Rímur*.

The Matter of France

The Matter of France was originally not romance but epic. Historically the *Song of Roland* is an expression of the heroic age in France corresponding to the heroic records of Germany, England, and Iceland, as exemplified respectively in *Hildebrand*, *Béowulf*, and *Njála*. But this original epic impulse accounts for but little of the great bulk of Carolingian poetry. Most of it, as M. Bédier has so learnedly demonstrated, is the product of jongleurs working up material supplied by monasteries and churches on the pilgrim routes in order to attract crowds to view their relics. Written

for audiences preponderantly masculine, the earlier chansons dealt largely in feats of arms, sieges, battles, and single combats. Like the Icelandic saga, the French epic had room for humor also: witness the incomparable *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*. Gradually, however, the competition of the Matter of Britain forced the introduction of amorous elements to a greater and greater degree until the peers of Charlemagne came to rival the Knights of the Round Table in the pangs and ecstasies of their love. Thus sweetened and decorated, the Matter of France was celebrated in England and Scandinavia in the thirteenth century.

"The English," says Professor Schofield, "like the Germans and other peoples, revered the memory of Charlemagne, particularly because they regarded him as the first great Christian king." In England, the Matter of France was popular from the day when the warrior-minstrel Taillefer rode before the Normans at Hastings, singing "of Charlemagne, and of Roland, and of Oliver, and of the knights who died at Ronceval." The best extant manuscript of the *Song of Roland* was written in Anglo-Norman about 1170, and is preserved at Oxford. *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne* comes down in an Anglo-Norman copy of the thirteenth century, with archaisms of the eleventh. Although the idealization of Arthur as the national hero-

king of Britain dimmed to some degree the fame of Charlemagne, the Matter of France was widely read in England throughout the Middle Ages. The best idea of the currency of Carolingian romances in England can be obtained by examining the long lists of French copies found in England and preserved in the British Museum. From the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we have many versions in the Middle English vernacular. Of these the cycles of *Otinel* (English *Otuel*) and *Fierabras* (*Ferumbras*) seem to have been most popular. To the former belong *Duke Rowland and Sir Otuell of Spayne, Roland and Vernagu, The Sege off Melayne;* to the latter the *Sowdone of Babyloyne* and *Sir Ferumbras.* There is also a late fragment of a Middle English *Song of Roland.* Caxton, the printer-encyclopædist of his age, completed the record by publishing in 1485 his *Charles the Great* and in 1490 his *Four Sons of Aymon.*

In Scandinavia the figure of "the first great Christian king," whether historical or legendary, became even more popular than in England. The glamor of his name impressed even the vikings. Northern kings emulated his conquests and government. They slavishly copied his coinage. They christened their sons after his attribute, "Magnus," a name borne by no less than seven kings of Norway. Carolingian epic in the North is preserved

in a great collection containing in all ten sagas relating to Charlemagne, the whole called *Karlamagnus Saga*.* The work was not a single compilation. It comes down to us in at least two stages: the first, represented by two Icelandic manuscripts, contains only eight branches of epic material; the second, also represented by two manuscripts, includes two new branches, with significant additions to several of the other eight. The earlier collection is also represented by a fragment in Swedish translation and by a relatively complete translation into Danish, *Kejser Karls Krönike*, which reflects the compilation in a state prior to that of the Icelandic transcripts. The Danish version presumably was not translated directly from the Norwegian, but, as in the case of *Ivain* and *Flores and Blanchefleur*, from the Swedish. Whether the original collection of the various branches was put together in France or by the Norwegian editor, we cannot tell; more probably by the latter. The earlier translation was evidently made before 1250, the later compilation after 1286.

Taken as one book of ten parts, the augmented *Karlamagnus Saga* recounts the history of Charlemagne from Pippin's death, when Charles was thirty-two years of age, until his own burial. When compared with their sources, the Norse ac-

counts exhibit strong evidence that all the versions here represented came from England, and not from the Continent. The sixth, seventh, and eighth parts are nearly related to Anglo-Norman manuscripts found in England. The second is translated from a lost Middle English text. The tenth, and occasional insertions elsewhere, are from Latin sources widely read in England. The remaining five parts are translations of lost poems dealing with stories otherwise represented in extant Old French narrative. They preserve the Anglo-Norman forms of the proper names, and are obviously based on originals written in Great Britain. Let us summarize each branch in turn.

I. *Karlamagnus Saga ok Kappa Hans*, "The Saga of Charlemagne and his Knights," which gives a detailed account of the early years of the great emperor, serves as introduction to the other nine branches, but it also proceeds to sketch later periods in his career, and the incidents are sometimes at variance with the independent sagas that follow. Although no foreign original has been found, the sources were older than most of the *chansons* now extant. The earlier chapters are based upon some form of the lost chanson *Basin*.

King Pippin of France died, leaving his wife Berta of the Large Feet, his son Karl, aged thirty-two, and his two daughters Gilem and Belesent. God's angel, ap-

pearing to Karl, told him about a plot against his life and commanded him to associate himself with the thief Basin, and to make his living by thieving. His knight Namlun instructed Basin to address Karl as Magnus; hence the name. Basin and Magnus entered the castle of Earl Renfrei and stole his horse. Magnus, hiding under the bed, heard Renfrei unfold to his wife the plot against Karl's life and the names of himself and his eleven associates. His wife remonstrating, he struck her, and Magnus caught her blood in his right glove. After he left the castle with this evidence, God's angel directed Karl to go to his mother, who was about to bear a daughter, Adaliz. The great folk of the realm assembled at Eis, where Karlamagnus was crowned with due pomp by the pope. The conspirators were exposed and beheaded, and Basin was rewarded with Renfrei's dominion and widow. One of Karl's sisters, Belesent, married, and his mother, Queen Berta, died. Karl proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned emperor. Turpin became Archbishop of Reins. After his return to Eis, the emperor had unlawful association with his other sister, Gilem. His guilt was disclosed to the abbot by the Angel Gabriel, who directed Gilem to be married to Milun. "After seven months she will bear Karl a son who will be dear to him." Milun was made duke of Britania. The son was born and named Rollant.

War followed between Karl and Geirarð of Viana. After the city had been besieged for seven years, peace was concluded, Rollant marrying Adein, the sister of Geirarð's nephew, Oliver. Another war ensued with Saxland, in the course of which King Vitakind was conquered. Karl's third sister, Adaliz, married a knight who came sailing up the Rhine drawn by a swan. Karl himself married Adein, sister of Namlun, who had had a son named Loðver. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy

Land, where the Greek king gave him relics. Later, the Angel Gabriel counselled an expedition to Spain, in which Rollant and Oliver took the city of Nobilis, and slew King Ful. Marsilius, king of Saraguz, offered to accept Christianity. Basin and his brother visited him but were treacherously slain. After the death of Milun, Gilem married Guinelun, who became devoted to his stepson Rollant. The priests, however, discovered that they were distant cousins, and they separated and remarried. King Jofrey of Denmark sent as hostage his son Oddgeir, who became Karl's knight and went on an expedition with Rollant. Rollant was tempted by Guinelun's wife, and this led to the estrangement of the two men. One day in his hall, surrounded by his knights, Karlamagnus declared that as our Lord had twelve apostles, so he was appointing twelve knights against the heathen. The twelve peers chosen were Rollant, Oliver, Turpin, Geres, Gerin, Bæring, Hatun, Samson, Engeler, Ivun, Iforias, and Valter.

II. *Af Fru Olif ok Landres Syni Hennar*, "Lady Olive and Landres her Son," found only in the second recension of the Icelandic collection, enjoys the distinction of being the only Norse romance of which we are certain that the original was written, not in Romance or Latin, but in the English language. The story itself is disappointing. It copies the folk-tale of the calumniated wife and the persecuting step-mother. Apparently, the narrative was taken bodily as delivered from some grandmother's lips and was boldly attached by a would-be poet to Charlemagne's sister.

Pippin, king of France, married his daughter Olif to a famous king named Hugon. They had a handsome son called Landres. One day the king went hunting and left his lady in charge of Milon, the steward. He offered her his love, which she spurned. In revenge he made her drink a sleeping potion, under the influence of which he stripped her and put a black man in her bed. Milon easily persuaded Hugon of his wife's guilt, asserting that she was a witch. Her kinsmen were summoned to pass judgment. She threw herself at Pippin's feet, but all were convinced of her guilt. On Karlamagnus's advice, she was shut up with snakes and toads in a stone structure in the forest. After a time Milon persuaded King Hugon that Olif was dead, and induced him to marry his daughter. They had an ill-mannered son named Malalandres. Landres was said to be the son of the black man and forbidden the king's sight. The boy took shelter with Siliven, his foster-mother, and dwelt with her for seven years. She sent him to play ball under his father's castle; here he knocked out Malalandres' teeth. Forced to flee, he kissed his foster-mother goodbye and went with his bow and arrows into the forest. Here he encountered some dwarfs, and, learning through them the whereabouts of his own mother, he found her still alive, protected by God and the serpents. On his foster-mother's advice he went to seek Karlamagnus at his court. In vain the stepmother employed her magic to intercept him. Karlamagnus came, the woman and her son were slain, and Milon was substituted for Olif in the tower, where the snakes devoured him. Olif ended her days in a nunnery. After Hugon's death, Landres reigned.

The tale itself may be dull reading, but the history of the translation is interesting enough. That

the saga was translated from a Middle English manuscript we learn from the first chapter, which gives the following account: — "Lord Bjarni Erlingsson of Bjarkey found this saga written down and narrated in the English language in Scotland while staying there the winter after the death of King Alexander. After him Margaret took the kingdom, daughter of the gracious Lord Erik, king of Norway, son of King Magnus, and the said Margaret was Alexander's granddaughter. For this reason Lord Bjarni was sent west — to make sure and firm the realm under the maid. So that the saga might be readable, and the people could get from it profit and pleasure, Lord Bjarni had it translated out of English into Norwegian."

We have already noted the career of Baron Bjarni Erlingsson, one of the greatest lords of Norway, and his frequent visits as ambassador to the courts of England and Scotland. The interest of this diplomat in foreign romance throws light upon the whole question of the transmission of literature from England to Norway. Carolingian romances were popular in Scotland, where English heroes, including King Arthur, were looked upon with a certain suspicion. Scottish chiefs of this time were omnivorous readers of French epic in all vernaculars, like the author of the Prologue to the *Cursor Mundi*, written in the Northern dialect, who read

> How Charles Kyng and Rauland faght
> Wit Sarazins wald þai na saght. . . . .
> Sanges sere of selcuth rime
> Inglis, Frankys, and Latine.

Barbour tells how Robert the Bruce cheered his men in crossing Loch Lomond by reading from the romance of *Fierabras:* —

> The king, the quhilis, meryly
> Red to thaim, that war him by,
> Romanys off worthi Ferambrace,
> That worthily our-cummyn was. . . .
> And maid thaim gamyn [and] solace
> Till that his folk all passyt was.

Now we know that Bjarni must have been a friend of the Bruce family, for Isabella Bruce, sister of the *Fierabras* enthusiast, married Bjarni's master, King Erik in 1293, and was accompanied by her father to Norway. In 1294 Bjarni was sent over to Britain, presumably to arrange matters between Norway and the family of Bruce. He must have known the Bruces from the early eighties when on his first mission to Scotland, and he may have heard Carolingian romances read in their castle in Annandale. It was here, perhaps, that Bjarni learned of "Olive and Landres."

The English original of *Olive* is lost. A later version of the same story, *Doon de la Roche*, found in an unpublished French manuscript of the fifteenth century in England, is preserved in the British

Museum. In this version Eastern elements are introduced; Olive is the sister of Pippin, not his daughter as in the Norse, and her husband's name is Doon, not Hugon. There is also a published Spanish version entitled *Enrique Fi de Oliva Rey de Jherusalem.* The story of Olive in still a different version, employing the same Doon, but introducing Olive as the sister of Charlemagne (as in the Norse), was known to Huon de Villeneuve, who alludes to it in his *Doon de Nanteuil,* composed before the middle of the thirteenth century. Outside of Scandinavia, these three clues are the only traces yet discovered of an Olive among Charlemagne's kin. In the North the story enjoyed a long popularity. It is found in Icelandic *rímur* (*Landres Rímur*) and Færoe ballads (*Óluvu Kvaeði*). Its popularity as a ballad is explained by the inherent folklore nature of the theme. Art had little claim upon this simple tale, so incongruously exalted to a place in Pippin's family tree, and its return to nature was easy.

Thus Bjarni's saga adds another romance to Middle English literature and helps to define our knowledge of thirteenth-century reading in Great Britain. As Bjarni found the story in Scotland, it was presumably written in the Northern dialect.

III. *Af Oddgeiri Danska.* "Ogier the Dane," in the earlier recension, corresponds, except in small details, to the first branch of the Ogier epic, *Les*

Enfances Ogier, as found in the first part of *La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche*. Several chapters of the saga correspond exactly to *laisses* of the epic. The post-1286 version adds eighteen chapters for which no foreign source is known. The Danish Chronicle, founded apparently on a lost Old Norse manuscript, adds also the last "branches" of Ogier, the account of the Saxon Wars.

The saga describes the campaign to drive the heathen King Ammiral of Babylon out of Rome. Oddgeir's father, the king of Denmark, put Karl's son to death, and the emperor ordered the death of his hostage, but Oddgeir performed such valuable services in battle that he was pardoned and made a royal standard-bearer. He rescued the king's son, Karlot, who rushed too impetuously into battle. A duel was fought between Oddgeir and Karvel, a heathen champion, on an island in the Tiber, but an army of heathen surprised the combatants and took Oddgeir prisoner; whereupon Karvel chivalrously surrendered himself to Karlamagnus. Now another heathen host arrived under King Burnament, who was offered Karvel's betrothed, Gloriant, and France to boot, if he could take it. She called upon Oddgeir as her champion, and he killed Burnament in a duel. Ammiral was overwhelmed and slain by another heathen host, who were in turn overthrown by Karvel, aided by Oddgeir and Karlot. Karvel remained true to his god Maumet, and returned with Gloriant to rule over Babylon, while the French retired to Paris. "Many other tales are written about Oddgeir."

IV. *Af Agulando Konungi.* The Norse *Agolant* is derived from two sources. The first twenty-

three chapters are an almost literal translation from the *Historia Karoli Magni*, commonly known as the *Pseudo-Turpin*, a fictitious chronicle written in Latin about 1130. The translator improves on the original by omitting religious digressions. Turpin's Chronicle was well known in England, where it was translated into Anglo-Norman, probably in the twelfth century. The British Museum owns many Latin manuscripts of the Chronicle copied in England in the Middle Ages. The great bulk of the saga, however, is taken from some form of the huge *Roman d'Aspremont*, a *chanson* of the twelfth century recounting Charlemagne's wars in southern Italy.

This is the longest branch of the Norse *Karlamagnus*, occupying 138 pages of printed text. It is the study of the conquest and freeing of Spain (Italy in earlier forms of the legend) from the invading Saracens, under King Agulandus and his son Jamund. The fighting is monotonous and interrupted by few incidents of an unusual nature. The most spirited anecdote recounts the appearance of the giant Ferakut of the race of Goliath, who picks up Karl's knights and carries them off to his dungeon. At last Rollant meets him and debates about religion. Rollant is delivered only by Providence. In the course of the action, three knights sent by Saint James of Compostella descend in gleaming armor from the mountains of Asprement and fight in the ranks beside Oddgeir and Rollant. The heathen idols are taken and destroyed, Jamund is killed, and so is Agulandus, who came to revenge him. Victorious at length after

many battles, Karl gives thanks to Saint Jakobus and re-establishes the churches and cloisters of Spain.

V. *Af Guitalin Saxa.* "Guitalin the Saxon" is derived from some account of Charlemagne's wars with the Saxons earlier than the *Chanson de Saisnes* of Jean Bodel of Arras, who wrote at the end of the twelfth century. Fortunately for our study of Anglo-Scandinavian relations, the Icelandic manuscript provides a clue to its source by quoting four lines of the original, and these are not in Central French but in the Norman dialect.

In this history of the Saxon campaign, Rollant and Baldvin his brother are the heroes, and the building of a bridge over the Rhine the chief incident. There is much the same atmosphere of Maumet heathendom as that which pervades the accounts of the wars in Italy and Spain, but the geography is more refreshing and the whole narrative less tedious.

The emperor was in Spain besieging Nobilis when he heard that Guitalin the Saxon king had invaded his realm and burned Koln. As Rollant refused to raise the siege, Charles set out with Duke Nemes, and rashly crossed the Rhine on a hawking expedition. He was besieged in a city by the Saxons. When the news was brought to Rollant, he stormed Nobilis in haste and came with Oliver and an army to the emperor's succor. Heathen aid also arrived for the Saxons. Guitalin's brother Elmidan possessed a horn named Olifant, which blew so loud that the forests quivered. Rollant was

eager to possess it, but was wounded and obliged to withdraw for a time from the war. Again the king longed for Rollant — an ever-recurring motif — for he tried in vain to build a bridge over the Rhine. At last two Spanish artisans made a huge ship, on the prow of which they placed a marble image of Karl, with a movable beard, which chided the heathen. As their arrows had no effect on the supposed Karl, they believed him possessed of divine power and urged Guitalin to desist. At last Rollant arose from his sick bed, and, assisted by Baldvin, his brother, overthrew the Saxon lords. Baldvin enjoyed the favor of the heathen queen Sibilia. Rollant obtained the coveted Olifant and blew three lusty blasts of victory. Karl made Saxland Christian, and Guitalin died in irons in a French prison.

VI. *Af Otuel.* The Norse *Otuel* follows, with some omissions, the Anglo-Norman manuscript of *Otinel.* In the French manuscripts the form "Otinel" is kept throughout; in the Anglo-Norman it is "Otuel," as in the Norse. This story was a favorite in England, where it appeared in the vernacular before 1300. At least five English romances of *Otuel* are known, which likewise adhere to the Anglo-Norman form of the name.

This short saga introduces us to another campaign in Italy. Karl was celebrating Yule at Paris in Lemunt Castle, when Otuel, a valiant heathen warrior, entered to announce that his master, King Garsia of Syrland, had taken Rome. He was so impudent that one of the knights attacked him, but Rollant protected him and agreed to meet him in single combat. Karl from the castle tower watched the tourney and prayed God for

Rollant. The holy spirit descended in the shape of a snow-white dove on Otuel, and he became a Christian. Karl gave him Lombardy and his daughter Belesent. The peers and the army crossed the Alps. Rollant, Oliver, and Oddgeir rashly went out for adventure but were worsted, and Otuel had to go to their rescue. In the end he slew Garsia, and Karl returned victorious to France.

VII. *Af Jórsalaferð.* The Norse translator of the amusing tale of Charlemagne's journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople used a manuscript derived from one and the same text as the Anglo-Norman manuscript formerly preserved in the British Museum. "It was a tale current among the Anglo-Normans," says Professor Schofield, "and relished by them. The unique manuscript was written in England in the thirteenth century by an Englishman who, it is clear, had inadequate mastery of French." So careful was the Norwegian to follow his Anglo-Norman original that his translation is used in editing the Romance text.

This chanson, half religious, half burlesque, is as much fabliau as romance and has somewhat of the grim humor of the Icelandic sagas.

Karl was one day sitting under an olive tree when he asked his wife if she knew of any king more distinguished than he. She named Hugon, emperor of Miklagarth. To Byzantium he set out with his peers to ascertain the validity of her boast. They proceeded,

however, *via* Jerusalem, where they obtained some very efficacious relics. At Byzantium they found Hugon plowing with a golden plow and were entertained with great circumstance. The peers were over-merry, however, after the banquet and committed the indiscretion of making impossible boasts. They were overheard by a spy and ordered to make good their gabs. Again Karl resorted to the sheltering shade of an olive and prayed over the relics. An angel descended and rebuked him, but said that this time his peers should be enabled to perform their vows. First Oliver was asked to sleep with the Emperor's daughter. Then Villifer (William of Orange) knocked down the wall, and Turpin flooded the city. In alarm, Hugon begged them to desist, and became Karl's vassal. There was joy in Paris at Karl's homecoming. He presented the crown of thorns and the nails of the cross to Saint Denis.

VIII. *Af Runzivals Bardaga.* The Norwegian account of the battle of Ronceval is more closely related to the Anglo-Norman text at Oxford from the second half of the twelfth century than to any other manuscript of the *Song of Roland.* Though the conclusion points to a variant form, the Norse is so close that it has assisted in editing the Oxford manuscript. This fact, and the manifest Norman forms of the proper names, point to England as the home of the Norseman's manuscript. The *Song* is too familiar to require a synopsis. The Norse translator describes with especial zest the simple pathos of Guinelun's treachery, the too tardy blasts of Olifant, the vain response of the thousand

horns, the last stand of the peers, and the grief of the aged Charlemagne.

IX. *Af Vilhjálmi Korneis.* The Norse *Guillaume d'Orange,* or *Guillaume au Court Nez,* tells how Charlemagne's veteran, William of Orange, retired to a monastery, but returned to give help to his aged lord in the hour of need. It is based upon neither of the two French versions of the *Moniage Guillaume* which are preserved to us. Under these circumstances, an Anglo-Norman source is the easiest hypothesis, or even an English redaction, for like *Olive and Landres* it is found only in the later Icelandic compilation.

This short narrative is attached to Charlemagne's declining years after Ronceval. It tells how his valiant champion William of Orange — William Short-nose — retired to a monastery, reappeared in disguise in battle to defend the realm in need, and again retired to the life of a hermit. It was when his young wife found a grey hair in Vilhjalm's head, and called him an old man, that he went to a monastery in the south and offered the abbot his services. He was sent to town for provisions, and was instructed that if any robbed him, he was not to resist unless they stripped him of his girdle. Attacked by thieves, he remained passive until they came to his girdle, when he turned on them and won back his asses. He left the monastery in disgust and disappeared. In vain Karl sought to find him. Old and helpless, he mourned for Oddgeir, Otuel, and the twelve peers. The brothers of the Marsilius who fought Rollant at Runzival invaded his dominions. At this time it

happened that far in the woods of the south lived a man named Grimaldus, to whom a stranger in a monk's hood appeared and offered to take his place in battle. He dispersed the heathen. In his glancing eye, as he passed him, Karl thought that he recognized Vilhjalm. The monk, however, disappeared, and Grimaldus claimed his reward. Years after, the hooded stranger presented himself to Grimaldus in a dream and bade him come with Karl to his burial place in a cliff cave. Here the king found the hallowed body of his dear friend Vilhjalm Short-nose.

X. *Um Kraptaverk ok Jartegnir.* "Miracles and Manifestations" tells of Karl's last days. The original Norse, represented only in the Danish redaction, was derived from Turpin's *Chronicle.* The later Icelandic compilation used a narrative translated from the Latin of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale,* which appeared about 1250. In fact, the Icelander names his source. Vincent's work was, of coure, easily accessible in England, where it was utilized in the following century by Chaucer.

King Constantinus of Miklagarth asked Karolus to rid the Holy Land of the infidels. This he did, and returned with many relics which worked wonders. At Achis he built for them the church of Maria Rotunda. *Speculum Historiale* relates that in Karlamagnus' days Sallinus, Bishop of Amiens, was honored. When Karl was ill, Archbishop Turpin was holding services at Vienna, and dreamed that a demon flew by in the air after the emperor's soul, but returned unsuccessful.

Thereat Turpin announced his death. Karl was buried with great ceremony, seated on a golden throne at Aqvisgranum.

We have already noticed the Swedish and Danish translations of the Old Norse *Karlamagnus*. In 1534 the Danish antiquary Christiern Pedersen published a revised version of the *Karls Krönike* and also a new and enlarged *Olger Danske Krönike*, translated by him from the Latin in an attempt to make of Ogier a national Danish hero. In Iceland, *rímur* were composed, based upon various branches of *Karlamagnus;* in fact, the metrical remains account for all but the first and last two parts. The poem on Karl's pilgrimage is called "Boasts," that on the Saxon wars "The Ballad of the Bridge." One of the most popular subjects was Roland's fight with the giant Ferakut — an anecdote from the wars with Agulandus — likewise a favorite theme of the English metrical romances.

In Sweden a church painting dating from the end of the fifteenth century displays Ogier driving his sword into Burman's neck. Under the picture there is a line, the refrain of a popular ballad on this theme, which is our earliest record of Carolingian matter in ballad poetry. Over Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Færoes these folk compositions spread. All branches of the *Karlamagnus Saga*, except possibly those relating to the Saxon

war and Karl's death, were thus celebrated in the rhymes of the people. On the Færoe Islands the first to the fourth branches are represented respectively by the following quaint titles: *Aligast, Oluvu Kvaeði, Karlots Kvaeði,* and *Emunds Ríma;* and the sixth to the ninth parts inclusive by *Odvalds Ríma, Geipa Táttur, Runsivals Strið,* and *Viljorm Kornus.* Never, even in sweet France itself, was the tale of Roland's death at Ronceval recited with more affectionate remembrance than by the shepherds and fishing folk of the Færoes in the remoteness of the northern Atlantic. To the present time these people, whether on their own rocky shores or at festive reunions in distant Copenhagen, record the doleful plot against the "infant" emperor, or the merry boasts of his peers at Constantinople, stamping their feet with each refrain in the dusty maze of their serpentine chain-dance, hand clasping hand. Here is a Færoe roll-call of the peers: Roland, Olevar, Baernhard, Vidlun, Kornits, Ålgar danske, Nemus, Haertuin, Aingjelbraekt, Turpin, Anseas, Raimar, Englar, Gråddur gamli!

Of the Matter of France not included in *Karlamagnus Saga,* there are but three romances the transmission of which to Norway we can with confidence assign to the thirteenth century: *Floovant, The Four Sons of Aimon,* and *Elie de Saint-*

Gilles, the first representing the so-called Merovingian cycle, the last two the vassal cycles attached to Charlemagne. "Floovant" signifies "descendant of Clovis," and is to be identified with the historical Dagobert, son of Clotaire, who was sent by his father against the Saxons early in the seventh century. In the Old French poem *Floovant*, he became the son of Clovis himself, and was banished for cutting off his tutor's beard. He left France, followed by his trusty squire Richier, and went to Alsace, where he protected King Flores against Saxons and Saracens. After many adventures he married Maugalie, daughter of the Saxon king, while Richier won King Flores' daughter Florette. Floovant returned to France and defended his father against the enemy, and they were reconciled. *Flóvents Saga* * juggles with history still further than the existing chanson.

Flóvent appears as the young nephew of Constantinus, emperor of Rome, who was converted by Pope Silfester. The action begins at a banquet in Rome, at which Flóvent accidentally spilled wine on a duke, who became incensed and was slain by Flóvent. The emperor pursued Flóvent from the court. He unhorsed the emperor and took his sword and horse Magremon. Accompanied by two trusty companions, Otun and Jofrey, he went north into pagan France, warned by a hermit to bow the knee to Maumet but keep the worship of God in his heart. King Florent of France was besieged in Paris by the Saxons under Salatres and

tributary kings with headquarters at Korbuil. Flóvent took up Florent's quarrel and became the standard-bearer and chief hero of the Franks in the exploits that followed. The Franks, like the Saxon invaders, were heathen and worshipped Maumet, Terrogant, Apollin, and Iovin. Both the Frankish princess and the Saxon Marsibilia loved Flóvent, but he chose the latter because she rescued his friend Otun from a dungeon. After many desperate battles, in one of which Florent was slain, the Saxons were obliged by Flóvent to return to their own land. Marsibilia was baptized and Flovent proclaimed Christianity over France, consecrating all the temples to churches. After his marriage he went to Rome to defend his uncle, the Emperor, from invaders, was reconciled to him, and was crowned by Pope Marcius. Flóvent and Marsibilia had issue and ruled over France to a good old age.

The saga ascribes the authorship of the *chanson* to one Master Simon in France and repeatedly cites him as authority. The narrative is not overloaded with folklore; it is a straightforward story of combats outside the walls of Paris, relieved by the passionate declarations of the princesses who watch their beloved hero from the rival towers. *Flóvent's* popularity in Scandinavia is further attested in Icelandic *rímur* and Færoe balladry. While the version from which *Flóvent* is translated is lost, it may well have been composed in England. In fact, the saga text quotes in corrupted form a French proverb which shows traces of Anglo-Norman dialect.

The Merovingian cycle has other relatives besides *Flóvent* in Northern literature. The unidentified *Mirmanns Saga* introduces a Clovis (Hlöðver) king of France. *Flores and Leo* is a version of *Florent and Octavian* which probably reached the North later *via* Denmark. The two brothers are sons of Emperor Octavian of Rome who (like Flóvent) enter the service of a Frankish king (Dagobert) against the heathen. Clovis is mentioned also in the opening chapters of *File John* and *Jón Leikari*. Another Icelandic romance, *Sigurd the Silent*, is placed in France in Merovingian times, while in *Polenstators Rímur* the Franks are still heathen.

Mágus Saga Jarls, otherwise known as *Renaud de Montauban* or *Quatre Fils Aimon*,* the feudal narrative of Aimon's four sons and their bitter quarrel with Charlemagne, must have come to its Northern form by oral transmission, so obscured are the names and the geography. Incidents galore are inserted from other romances, native and foreign, and one form of the introduction, as we shall notice in the following chapter, is of Eastern origin.

The main outlines of the saga are those of the familiar tale of Renaud and Bayard, his wonderful steed, with the names Norsified and the scene shifted from France to Germany. Karl is Jatmund's son. One of the four sons of Amunndi (Aimon) killed Jatmund in

a quarrel over a game of chess. The brothers were outlawed and were hidden by their father for three years. Civil war followed, and one of the brothers, Rögnvalld (Renaud), especially distinguished himself on his white horse Flugar (Bayard). After many harrowing escapes in the forest and elsewhere, they were saved by the magic wiles of Earl Mágus (Maugis), their kinsman, who finally brought about reconciliation with the Emperor Karl and the marriage of Rögnvalld with Erminga, the queen's mother.

Icelandic invention furnished an epilogue, as well as a prologue, to this saga. The sequel may be read in the romance and *rímur* of *Laus and Geirarð*, where the heroine is a daughter of Emperor Karl, named Elinborg. The Germanic forms of the proper names could be explained by English influence upon their phonology. That *Quatre Fils Aimon* was popular in England we surmise from a passage in Alexander Neckham, who employs the form "Eymund" for Aimon, indicating that he knew the poem from an Anglo-Norman copy or redaction. An Anglo-Norman manuscript has indeed been printed which rests upon a twelfth-century redaction. This latter, however, seems to have been merely a paraphrase of a French original.

Elis Saga ok Rosamundu is the feudal romance of *Elie de Saint-Gilles* translated from an older version than the one represented by the unique Old French manuscript.* The saga is associated with other translations of obvious English origin. We

are fortunate enough to possess the Norwegian text itself and do not need to rely upon transcripts made in Iceland. It is preserved in the same manuscript collection as the Lays rendered from the Anglo-Norman poems of Marie. And we also have the signature of the translator, who proves to be none other than the Brother Robert, now elevated to the dignity of Abbot, who turned the Anglo-Norman *Tristan* into Norwegian.

The scene opens at the court of old Duke Juliens at St. Gilles in Provence (Proventioland) at the feast of Saint Dionysius. The Duke upbraided Elis his son for lack of valor. It were better for him to be at Paris serving King Læyuis, son of Karlamagnus. Nevertheless, he dubbed him knight. In anger Elis left the court. In the wood he came upon four French prisoners conducted by a guard of five heathen: the French knights were Vilialm of Orengiborg, Bertram, Bernard, and Arnald. The French army had been defeated by King Malkabres of Sobrieborg. Helped by his horse, Elis overcame them one by one, but was enticed away in pursuit until surrounded by the heathen army. William of Orange and his comrades were released by a peasant and tried to succor Elis. Unsuccessful, they returned to report to Duke Juliens. The heathen having captured Elis sailed to Ungarie and landed near Sobrieborg. Elis escaped. He fell in with thieves, two of whom he killed, while the third thief, Galopin, became his devoted follower. They came to the wall of Sobrieborg and had a fight with the heathen. Elis was wounded, and they sought refuge in a garden under Princess Rosamunda's window. She took them in, sheltered them,

and cured Elis' wound. At this juncture King Jubien besieged the city and demanded Rosamunda in marriage unless some champion should overthrow him in single combat. No one dared, not even her brother, but she volunteered to provide a defender. Galopin therefore went to the hostile camp in disguise and stole Jubien's dread horse, Primsant. Mounted on this charger, Elis overcame him. He sent to France for his father and William of Orange, their comrades and army. Rosamunda returned with Elis to St. Gilles, his converted bride. "Robert Abbot translated and King Hákon son of King Hákon had this *Norröna* book translated for your pleasure. Now may God give him that translated this book and wrote this, in this world *gratiam* and in his kingdom *sanctorum gloriam*."

Elis Saga merits especial notice, for it does honor both to the translator and his original. In comparison with *Olive and Landres*, this *chanson* is almost a work of real art. The action is not overcrowded; there are no sharp changes of situation; each of the simple incidents, however conventional, is amplified by epic expansion. It was a poem worthy of *Tristan's* translator, and he has accomplished his task again with distinction. He has reproduced both the letter and the spirit of the feudal epic: the angry quarrel of father and son, the charge against the heathen, the debate and conversion, the oath taken either by the great god Maumet or by a Christian saint, and the occasional rhetorical appeal with which the reciting minstrel was wont to address his audience.

Other Cycles of Romance

In the chapter on Pseudo-history we have already seen in what form the Matter of Antiquity reached Iceland, chiefly through Latin sources. Other titles among the Icelandic sagas suggest kindred themes. There is a saga about Ajax; another about Hector. But their matter is not derived from any romances generally known. Several *lygisögur* dealing with the Orient contain allusions to heroes of antiquity. The story of Thebes, however, which impressed Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Dryden, apparently did not reach the North.

Out of the galaxy of Byzantine romances written down in Iceland, only three may at the present stage of literary research be confidently attributed to thirteenth-century transmission from England to Norway. They are *Flores and Blanchefleur*, *Partonopeus of Blois*, and a fragment of *Pamphilus and Galathea*.* *Flóres Saga ok Blankiflúr*, the tale of the sentimental love of a noble youth for a slave girl separated from him by his parents and won after many difficulties, was translated from Norwegian into Swedish verse by Queen Eufemia, and was later turned into Danish. A solitary leaf of the Norwegian text is preserved in the state archives of Norway. Closely related in theme to this romance are the Icelandic *rímur* about

Reinald, a Spanish prince, and Rosa, a captive Greek girl. In an Icelandic saga, *Sigurd the Silent*, Sedentiana, queen of France, is a daughter of Flores and Blanchefleur; similarly, according to one of the Western redactions of *Flóres*, the heroine becomes the mother of Bertha, Pepin's queen. The striking love-device of *Partonopeus*, also, and the fairy boat that carries the hero to his mysterious lady-love, recur in the Icelandic romances of *Gibbon* and *Victor and Bláus*, in both of which the fairy vehicle is aerial. The Norwegian *Partalópa Saga* likewise ultimately found its way into Danish verse, though no Swedish intermediary is preserved. The Oriental romances of *Apollonius* and the *Seven Sages* came to the North *via* Denmark at a later period.

Finally, to that generous classification entitled Romances of Adventure, can be ascribed a large number of the Icelandic *lygisögur*. To the genuine body of romance, however, transmitted *via* England in the thirteenth century, we dare as yet assign only one saga of this description. It is an Old Norse version of *Amis et Amiles*, that model tale of friendship between sworn brethren which stops short of no sacrifice. This *Amícus Saga ok Amilíus* is an almost literal translation from the Latin account by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*.* The romances of *Magelone* and of

Melusine did not reach the North until after the Reformation.

To the student of mediæval romance the sagas and *rímur* of Iceland, both those already published and those still lying in manuscript, offer new fields for minute research. The literature sketched in this chapter — like a hasty chart of the fjords and lava fields of Iceland — will hardly reward the searcher for new gems of art. But he whose mission is to study, as it were, the geology of mediæval literature will discover in this remote island many a stratum which in France, Germany, Italy, or England has perished entirely or left but few traces.

CHAPTER X

Eastern Romance

Many remarkable things we heard told of Hákon Magnússon, King of Norway, particularly that he took keen pleasure in good old sagas and had many turned into Norse from Greek.

Saga of Victor and Bláus

No wonder if the Grecian tongue I know,
Since at Byzantium many a year ago
My father bore the twibil valiantly;
There did he marry and get me and die
And I went back to Norway to my kin. . . .
Among the Greeks I gathered some small lore,
And standing mid the Vaering warriors heard
From this or that man many a wondrous word.

William Morris, *Earthly Paradise*

THE majority of the Icelandic *lygisögur* remain still unaccounted for in the historical review of the last four chapters.* The history of chivalric romance in Iceland runs parallel to its development in England and on the Continent, where Arthurian legend and Carolingian epic were succeeded by strange tales of adventure and so-called Byzantine romance. Bewildering witchcraft and diabolical magic superseded the reign of God's holy angels, who in the old *chansons de geste* had descended

simply and naïvely upon Charlemagne's battle-fields.

Now these romances, so far as their provenance can be surmised, seem to have no connection with England, and do not properly belong within the province of this book. Yet their existence is so little known and they present so fascinating a study for the folklorist that I shall give a brief sketch of their character.

Certain of these tales are essentially Scandinavian in character of incident, but have been localized in Russia or the East. Of these are *Hring and Tryggvi* and *Úlfar*. They seem to be stories composed by Northern saga-men, in Novgorod or Byzantium, who aimed to interest their compatriots abroad by placing the scenes in their new home.

Others are compositions of the most heterogeneous nature. Incongruous threads are woven into a web, garish and laughable. For instance, in *Fertram and Plato* a witch gives to Fertram, who is the son of King Artus of France, Attila's sword and the horse Busephal (Bucephalus), which, according to the author, she had stolen from Ermenrek! In *Kirjalax* we note Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, Arthur, Attila, and Dietrich, materials from the bestiaries and the *Gesta Romanorum*, a variant of the Minotaur legend, and a description of the tombs of the Trojan heroes. The tale of

Vilhjálm Sjóð announces itself as a discovery made in Babylon and compiled by Homer. In it we find a Teutonic touch in a sword hardened by dragon's blood, a hint of Carolingian influence in an allusion to Aspremont, an echo of the crusading story of Richard's eating the lion heart — all in addition to marvelous magical elements of true Oriental coloring.* The geography of these tales is limited only by the Mappa Mundi. Such romances could only have been composed in the Latin kingdoms founded by the crusaders, who brought together all the legends and the lore of their several countries and cast them into the simmering cauldron of Greek and Arabian mythology.

But other *lygisögur* are almost purely Oriental in character. Concessions were made to the French and German and English knights who heard them, only to the extent of making the hero a prince of Saxland or a duke of Valland. For the rest, the story is just a late Greek romance. Here are new examples of the tale within the tale. The folklorist will find his surfeit of stones of invisibility, goblets of wakefulness, beauty drinks, love potions and strength potions, rings that dispense with the necessity for food and drink, tables self-replenishing with wine, prophetic visions of every sort, infants brought up by she-wolves, witches who ride hyenas, sorcerers who transform themselves into

dragons, dwarfs friendly to man, ravishing mermaids, bizarre seamonsters like the *margyria*, and uncanny beasts of burden such as the many-legged *catanansius*. Such are *Ajax the Brave*, *Bœring*, *Konráð*, *Dámusti*, *Gibbon*, *Hermann and Jarlmann*, *Nikulás Leikari*, *Nítida*, *Sigurd the Jouster*, *Sigrgarð and Valbrand*, and *Victor and Bláus*, while Byzantium figures in many other stories.

Even if the *lygisögur* based on Greek romances had not become the favorite food for Icelandic fancy, still Miklagarth would have been for Icelanders the glamorous city of dreams. What Camelot or Caerleon-on-Usk meant to a knight of the Round Table, what the Other World may have connoted to the ancient Irishman, what Paris was to the Scandinavian of the year 1900, that Miklagarth was to the Northman —Miklagarth with its castles and towers, its gilded streets carpeted with costly rugs, its mechanical wonders, its gorgeously dressed citizens, and above all its clever and beautiful women.

History affords abundant witness to the association of the North with Constantinople, beginning as early as the ninth century, when the *Rhos*, the Swedish colonists of Russia, sailed down the Dnieper from Kieff and across the Black Sea to Byzantium. In 839 Swedish ambassadors had already visited the court of Emperor Theophilus.

The forty thousand Arabic coins and numerous Oriental objects found in Sweden, Greek coins and gold chains picked up on Norwegian farms, Greek frescoes and architecture in Denmark, the runic inscription on the marble lion removed by the Venetians from Piræus, the Varangian guard of Northmen maintained by the Greek emperors, the visits of Norwegian princes to Miklagarth recorded in the sagas — all bear testimony to continuous relations between Scandinavia and the Greek Empire. The historical adventures (1034–1045) of Harald Harðráði at the court of the notorious Empress Zoe (as narrated in the *Heimskringla*) are akin to some of the experiences of the knights of Icelandic romance with Byzantine princesses.

When Harald returned to Constantinople from Jerusalem, he longed to journey north to his native land; and when he heard that Magnus Olafson, his brother's son, had become king both of Norway and Denmark, he gave up his command in the Greek service. And when the Empress Zoe heard of this, she became angry, and raised an accusation against Harald, that he had misapplied the property of the Greek emperor which he had received in the campaigns when he was the commander of the army. There was a young and beautiful girl called Maria, a brother's daughter of the Empress Zoe, and Harald had paid his addresses to her; but the empress had given him a refusal. The Varangians, who were then at Constantinople, have told here in the North that there went a report among

well-informed people that the Empress Zoe herself wanted Harald for her husband, and that she chiefly blamed Harald for his determination to leave Constantinople, although another reason was given out to the public. Constantinus Monomachus was at that time emperor of the Greeks, and ruled along with Zoe. On this account the Greek emperor had Harald made prisoner, and carried to prison. A lady hauled Harald and his companions out of prison with a rope. He escaped from the city, abducted the lady Maria (whom he sent back, however, honorably, under escort), to show the Empress Zoe his power. He returned through Russia, where he married Ellisif, daughter of King Jarisleif, and sailed with the princess and her dower into port at Swedish Sigtuna:

> The fairest cargo ship ever bore,
> From Russia's distant eastern shore
> The gallant Harald homeward brings —
> Gold and a fame that skald still sings.*

Like a romance also is the historical account of the hippodrome spectacle with which the Emperor Alexius entertained King Sigurd the Crusader in 1110 — almost as splendid as the wonders by which nearly two centuries earlier, Constantine Porphyrogenitus astonished visitors to his court. Relations declined in the twelfth century — the period when a revival of romance occurred in Greece, paralleling that in western Europe — but as late as 1195 we find the Emperor Alexius sending a Norseman up to Norway for more troops. In 1222 a Norwegian pilgrim followed the well-beaten

route through Novgorod and the Black Sea to Constantinople and the Holy Land.

Many of the *lygisögur*, as we have already observed, show admixture of Western names and motifs, but others are undoubtedly pure Greek romances, which in their journey from Byzantium to Iceland have remained inviolate. As an example there is the *Saga of Dínus the Proud and the Princess Philotemia the Fair*, a tale rich in Oriental features, with the scene laid in Egypt and northern Africa.* Some account of this romance, the original of which, like most of its kind, is still accessible only in manuscript, will serve as example and may be of value to future investigators.

Dínus the Proud and Philotemia the Fair

In that third of the world called Africa lies the land we know as Egypt. It is a rich country, with all manner of fruits. There is no wind or rain there, nor a cloud in the heavens, but the river Nile brings a thick fog at night. The kingdom in Egypt which is called the Greek kingdom, was founded by Alexander the Great 4807 years after the creation of the world. On his death-bed he gave Egypt to his duke Tolomeus, who had Alexander's body removed to Alexandria, where it was buried in the temple of the goddess Issis. And just as the kings of old Egypt bore the name Pharao as a title, so now the kings of the Greek realm were called Tolomeus.

Many centuries later there came to the throne of Egypt a noble and powerful king, married to a beautiful

queen whom everyone honored. Their son was a youth named Dínus. He had the best tutor in Egypt, and was sent to school in Memphis, the city in all the world most famous for its clerkdom.

After he had spent three years at Memphis, the king sent for him to return home to help him to rule. He now trained for tilt and tourney, and became as expert in arms as before in books. He bade the dukes and earls of Egypt send him their sons for fellowship and service. He had built for them a hall of white marble, adorned with silver and gold, where there was joy and laughter, and the best of food and wine. When the prince rode forth with his knights, it was in silken array. He would see in the street no poor man nor cripple, and none of his men dared cast eyes on a woman. He said he would never love a woman himself, until he found one his equal in cunning and wisdom. He required rare viands on his table every day. Because of these ways, he got the surname of *drambláti*, "the proud."

Now Master Galterus in his book describes the kingdoms of northern Africa from Numidia to Carthage and Getulia and Bláland the Great. At that time there ruled over Bláland a king Maximianus. His capital was Bláspuaborg. He was married, and Eleutherius, the queen's brother, was his chief counsellor. His daughter, Philotemia, was very clever, and surpassed all the masters of Bláland. She knew the seven liberal arts, but especially astronomy, and could discern coming events from the stars. Her father built a hall for her, and forty noble maidens attended upon her there.

Although the distance was great between Egypt and Bláland, Dínus the proud and Philotemia the fair had heard of each other. One day Philotemia told her father that she wished to test Dínus. She sent as her messengers to Egypt two brothers, skilled in stratagems,

named Patrix and Patrocianus, who had the trick of appearing old or middle-aged as they pleased. They were mounted on dromedaries with wings under their shoulders, the swiftest of beasts. The brothers reached Alexandria, stalled their steeds in hiding outside the city, and went to king Tolomeus, saying they were friars from India. They were well received, but stayed some time without seeing the prince. One day, they left the castle and stood below the balcony of the prince's hall. Two retainers of the prince, Nínus and Moranus, came out on the balcony. "What are you doing here?" asked Nínus. "The prince does not wish to see such men."

"We will do the prince no harm," Patrix replied: "we wish to sell this precious apple." They bribed their way into the hall, and the prince ate the apple. Then they hurried back to Bláspuaborg.

Dínus awoke in the night, after a little sleep, and called his counselor Grammaton, and told him he had fallen in love with Philotemia of Bláland. Accordingly Dínus and his knights saddled their horses and rode swiftly away in the dead of night and came to Bláspuaborg. They were hospitably received by king Maximianus, and seated at a banquet. The king saw that Dínus and his men were not eating, and asked the reason why.

"I did not come here to be fed," said Dínus. "I have so great a longing for your daughter that I shall die at once if I do not get to her bed. I ask your leave."

"I had not intended my daughter to be any man's paramour;" the king replied, "but I would rather she slept with you one night than marry her to other princes. So I give her to you, and her maids."

Dínus and his men went to the princess's hall, and found the doors open, but no maidens. There were

forty beds in the hall. It was all one glitter of splendor — gold, marble pillars, gems, busts, doves, songs, and odors. But when the men tried to seize the doves they flew straight out through the blank wall. The prince affected a calm demeanor.

"I call such things wondrous fair," he said, "but still not learning nor craft."

A little later the hall doors opened, and forty maidens came in, splendidly gowned. Philotemia's complexion was like the blood-red rose and the snow-white lily. The sun shone on them through windows adorned with crystal. The princess came to Dínus and threw her arms around his neck. Her maidens did the same to the prince's knights. They drank and played games until at sunset they prepared themselves for bed. Philotemia unrobed Dínus herself, and the other maidens did the same for their lovers. Then each took off her own outer garments, and stood in her kirtle before her bed. But just as they were going to bed, a din shook the hall, like the approach of a great cavalcade. Every one started. Again the din.

"What is it?" asked Dínus.

"I must tell you," said the princess. "My father Maximianus has forty knights who were sent to him from the ultimate darkness of Bláland. They are strong as trolls, big as giants, black as pitch. And their armor has this property, that they can ride through mountains and stone walls. The king has appointed them to guard this hall; they ride through the walls and kill all the men they find."

The maidens armed the knights in haste. A third time the din. Then forty knights came riding through the walls, liker to fiends than men. A stubborn combat followed. The walls seemed to expand, and allow them room. It was little use to chop off the feet or the hands

of the enemy, for the limbs flew back to their places. At last, when the sun shone through the windows, the fiends leaped through the wall and disappeared, and Dínus and his men were left behind, wounded and weary. They climbed into their beds, expecting fond embraces, but the beds were empty. Yet they slept from weariness.

They awoke to a strange transformation. Beds and palace had vanished. They were lying naked on a plain, with oaks above them, and the oaks were all hacked, and the limbs were strewn over the grass, and it was evident to them that the knights they had been fighting all night were nothing but oaks. They saw their clothes lying near by, and dressed at once. All desire for women was gone out of them.

"We have been put to a great shame," said Grammaton.

"Gladly will I get me hence," cried Dínus, "if I may but find horse and weapons."

And lo! — their horses standing saddled in the wood a little way off!

Now they rode home, and behind them in the city arose a hue and cry. Some citizens struck their shields, some urged on their dogs, some shot arrows, and some shouted jeeringly: "There goes Dínus the proud. They are not so hot after women now, he and his fellows."

When they came to a forest, Dínus left his comrades, and slipped back alone into the city and the princess's palace. They were all away at drink in the king's hall. After spending a little while in the palace, he stole out and back to his men. They returned to Alexandria as they had departed, in the night, so that no one knew of their going, except those who were left to guard the hall. There they rested and healed their bruises.

And now what happened in Bláspuaborg? Philo-

temia and her ladies returned to the hall, and found a table there with gold lettering in Hebrew. When she saw it, she suddenly took off all her clothes, and danced naked round the table. So did her maidens. Others heard the noise, and came, and they too began to dance — men and women, rich and poor, king and queen, bishop, abbot, monks and canons; prayers and crosses were unavailing. Eleutherius, the king's counsellor, searched the city for some remedy. Beneath a tower he found an underground hovel, and in the hovel a man sitting on a stool, as shaggy as a sheep, and as black as pitch. He said his name was Avactyrita, and asked what was the noise he heard in the city. He offered his help, and went to Philotemia's hall, Eleutherius remaining outside. Avactyrita covered his eyes, groped his way into the hall till he felt the table, and picked it up. Immediately the dancers fell in their tracks as though dead. Avactyrita went out to Eleutherius, and advised him to sprinkle them with water. Then he departed to his hovel. The counsellor sprayed the prostrate multitude with water; they recovered at once, and observed their shame and nakedness. The others clothed themselves, and the maidens leapt into bed.

Philotemia again told her father that she must have revenge. He said no good would come of it. However, she sent the same brothers, this time with a horn, full of liquor. They went on their winged dromedaries, hitched as before, and entered Alexandria. They were not recognized, for this time they appeared to be middle-aged. They did not go to the king, but to the market-place. They succeeded in getting the horn and its drink to the prince, and drove their dromedaries like the wind back to Bláspuaborg.

The drink had the same effect as the apple. Impelled by love, Dínus and his knights returned to Bláland and

found the ladies in their hall. Philotemia arose to meet the prince, saying, "It will not go as before." They feasted till evening, and then made ready for bed. Each lady gave her lover a drink, and they fell asleep.

They awoke in broad daylight. The ladies were gone. They were wonderfully transformed. Every knight had four horns on his head, and all long, and as thick as an ox-horn. Their heads were sore. They found their clothes and horses and slunk out of the city. The citizens jeered after them as before.

Dínus again left his companions, and stole back secretly into the city and to the princess's hall. He saw Philotemia through a window, sitting on a stool of burnished gold, combing her hair. Never had she seemed so fair. The maidens sat each by her bed, sewing. They were joking about the shame to which Dínus had been put. Dínus took an apple out of his pouch, cut off a little piece, and dropped it through the window. A maid took it to her mistress. When she perceived its odor, she said, "This has been sent by the God of heaven himself, and is come from the Tree of Life, out of Paradise. It is given for the victory I have won over Dínus. Pray God that he send more to you."

They stood with their hands uplifted in prayer, while Dínus tossed slice after slice into the hall. When all the maidens were supplied, he departed. Now the maidens in their turn were seized with a passionate desire.

"Let us go out," said Philotemia, "and let the wind blow on our faces."

And when they went out, they were lifted into the air by a sharp wind, and enveloped in coal-black crow-skins. They caught up with Dínus and his cavalcade, and flew overhead by day. When Dínus took lodging for the night, they sat on the roof. All men wondered and laughed. At length they came by night to Alexan-

dria, unobserved, and the crows perched on the tower of the prince's hall.

The prince forbade any one's coming into the hall, for he wished to conceal his ignominy. He sent word to his father to have the birds fed, as they were sent him from a far land, and forbade shooting them under pain of death. "And say that I am studying in a book the art called Dialectic."

Let us leave the men with their horns and the maids in their crow-skins, and return to Bláland. The girls were missing. Eleutherius went again for help to the shaggy man, who had delivered the dancers.

"I see clearly," said he, "where she sits in coal-black crow-skin on the hall of Dínus in Alexandria, suffering hunger and cold."

"Take my daughter to wife and half the kingdom," cried the king, "but bring her home."

"I do not desire your daughter," he replied; "yet I will try to help you on condition that no one in the city shall go out of doors by daylight tomorrow, even if unusual noises are heard."

On the morrow there was a wild noise and darkness. In front of every home, before daylight, had been proclaimed the king's order to keep indoors. But twelve berserks ventured forth, and saw a vulture overhead, which caused the tumult and the murk. They reported to the king, and fell dead in their tracks.

Next day there was a similar uproar in Alexandria. The people saw a great vulture fly over the prince's hall, and bear away the crows on its wings. Next night the same tumult was heard in the capital of Bláland. This time every citizen took good care to keep his head indoors, until the uproar abated. When the king and court ventured out, there were the crows on the roof. He had them taken to his daughter's hall. Then he

went to the shaggy man, thanked him, and begged him to free Philotemia and the girls from their torture. The shaggy man went to the hall, took an apple, and saying, "Like cures like," he cut it into forty pieces, and gave each girl a slice. They ate them, and after a while, their crow-skins fell off, leaving the girls pale and bloodless. They were carefully nourished, however, and after a time regained their beauty and bloom.

One day Tolomeus was walking the streets of Alexandria when he met a bent old man, in white linen, with a stout staff and a bag in his hand.

"I am called Heremita," he replied to the king's query. "My employment has long been to seek holy places. I have heard about Dínus and his misfortune." And he told the king all the story of the horns. They went to the prince's hall, and demanded an entrance, and saw his ignominious condition.

"With drink shall I loosen what with drink was bound," said Heremita, and he gave them to drink from a great horn of ale. The horns fell off, leaving white spots on their heads. Heremita remained a long time in Egypt, and cured the spots. The horns were made into precious drinking horns. Heremita was Dínus's constant companion and adviser.

Again the princess of Bláland told her father that she wished to punish Dínus. He said that the third attempt would end in irreparable disaster. But she had her way and sent the two brothers to Alexandria, this time openly, with a letter to Dínus in which she said she was wasting away for love, and should not be happy until he came to her. When Dínus had read this letter, Heremita advised him to go and said:

"This time Philotemia will have her father and his knights ready when you go to bed, so that they can kill you all. There is a bell in the gate before the princess's

hall. A string attached to it leads through the wall and into the bed of the girl who sleeps nearest the hall-door. She will give the alarm. This time you will not go to the king's hall, but the maidens will meet you outside their palace, and invite you in. At bedtime they will get into bed first, saying that the bride has to warm the bed. When all are in bed, you shall go out and find a bag there, and you shall open the bag, and go round the hall, waving it over your head. Then get back into the princess's bed, and have all the pleasure you want, regardless of the bell and King Maximianus. Do not let them ask for mercy, but remember your flogging and your horns!"

All went as Heremita predicted. Dínus took the bag, waved it over his head, and went round the hall, and he perceived that smoke lay over the city like a fog. He went back into bed, and the princess called to the maiden to ring. She seized the string in both hands, and rang so hard that it could be heard all over the city.

"What does this ringing mean?" asked Dínus. "It is not time for matins; or is it the custom of the inhabitants of Bláland to ring for such weddings?"

She did not answer. Nor did king nor court come to these nuptials.

At sunrise, Dínus bade his men be stirring. "What art thou doing?" cried Philotemia; "let me go with thee, and die with thee, and never part."

But he pushed her away. They found their horses and rode off. This time there was no hue and cry behind them; instead, all the city was silent. They returned to Alexandria, and there thanked Heremita.

Meanwhile Maximianus had heard the bell, and started with his men for the hall of the princess. They found it wrapped in flames, and thought all the women had perished. Turning back they met an earthquake.

Wells burst, chasms opened; there were waterfalls and precipices, snakes, toads, lions, and dragons.

Eleutherius hurried again to the shaggy man, and he came to the rescue. "That shall be released with the bag which with the bag was bound." He waved a bag over his head, and returned home. Out of the bag came a fog, and when the fog subsided, Eleutherius saw the hall of the princess unharmed. The city was restored, and the chasms were obliterated. The king and his men were found half choked in a fen where all the city's filth was dumped. The animals which the king had seen in the night were his dogs, which had followed him into the fen. The king went to the daughter and learned of her experience. He asked her for counsel.

"Never more," she replied, "will I do anything to Dínus's shame. Sooner I would that all I have were his, in word and deed." The king was highly incensed and departed.

Again the king went to the shaggy man. Avactyrita advised him to collect an army for twelve months, and he would arrange so that no one in Egypt should know what was happening. Accordingly Maximianus marshalled a great army together from Bláland, Mauretania, Lybia, Getulia, and Numantia. In his army were giants, negroes, and all sorts of strange mortals. They advanced to the river Nile, where they camped, a day's march from Alexandria. And Tolomeus had not yet heard of their expedition.

Dínus and his men were sitting in their hall, when suddenly Heremita became disturbed and said that Maximianus and his cohorts were now encamped on the Nile. Dínus was in favor of calling out the army, but Heremita advised him to keep the matter secret: — "Do you ride with your men to the river Nile, and pitch your tent opposite Maximianus' army. Receive well

their messengers in the morning; I will attend to the Blálanders." Dínus did so.

Heremita entered Maximianus' tent at midnight, clad in a white surplice.

"Who advised you to this folly?" he asked Maximianus.

"A man of good counsel."

"It is ill-counsel when you know the awful odds he has brought you against."

"How shall I know the truth?" asked the king.

"Get on my back and observe."

Maximianus did so, and instantly the man became a flying dragon, and bore the king aloft so far that he was much alarmed, He set him down on a crag and disappeared, but the man in the white surplice stood beside him, asking him what he saw.

"A countless number of armed men," replied the king, "giants, negroes, all tongues and races. Whence have come this mighty host to the help of Tolomeus?"

"These are all the people who have died of illness and weapons from Adam's time," said the man in the white surplice; "the giants who built Babel, the knights who fought at Troy, Alexander the Great, who is now risen to defend his tomb."

"Take me back," cried the king, "to my men, and we will hurry home, if we can escape alive."

"You shall see still more," said Heremita.

Off they went again, the king on the dragon's back, farther than before, to a high mountain. There they saw a host in green.

"The leader of these people," said the guide, "is the bad Pharao, Chenchras by name. He was the twenty-third Pharao. He pursued the children of Israel, led by Moses, into the Red Sea, and was drowned. But they intend to defend Tolomeus and their foster-land."

Whereupon Maximianus exclaimed, "Curse the impostor who brought me to this land!"

A third time they flew, so long that the king thought every bone in his body would break. Now he saw the windows of heaven open, and knights in white armor flying down, brighter than the sun.

"What shall I do to escape?" cried the king.

"My advice," said Heremita, "is to send your army home at daybreak, and go yourself across the river to Dínus's tent, and submit to him."

The king was taken back to his tent, and went to bed, but he did not sleep that night. In the morning Maximianus surrendered. He was joyfully received, and taken by Dínus to his father, who entertained him at a banquet.

A man of tremendous height came into the hall of Tolomeus and before the king's high seat. He was a young man in gleaming garments, adorned with gold. He bore between his hands an iron ball, polished as bright as glass. In the ball there was a gleam as of live coals, and in the coals moved the likeness of a living man.

"Who are you?" asked Dínus.

"Do you not recognize your companion Heremita? Now I will explain."

"Petrus was king of farthest India. His son was Johannes. He it is who stands before you now. I was early set to books and became very clever. In my land was a powerful earl named Frygerius; he had a son named Agapitus, deceitful as a child, two years older than I. For some time the earl sent him to the school I was in. Then he went to schools for magic, learning there deceit and black art, intending to conquer me.

"When I was twelve years old, the earl and his son surprised us one night, burned the castle, and killed

my father. I alone escaped. My father had a sister's son, a great duke in India. He came, slew the earl, and drove his son from India. The duke took the realm, promising to give it to me if I returned in ten years.

"I left India, hunting for Agapitus, who lived in Bláspuaborg, known as the shaggy Avactyrita, and became Maximianus' adviser. In the hope of destroying Agapitus, I came to Dínus. Then Maximianus came here with his army, and I wrought optical illusions. When you seemed to fly on a dragon's back to a mountain, you went only to the little hill beside your tent. And when you thought you saw a host arise from the dead, you really saw asses and camels who were pasturing across the Nile. The green-clad men were the woods. We only went up a hill. The heavenly host was a rift in the clouds.

"And in like manner will I overcome my father's slayer. He shall burn now to cold ashes, before the eyes of all."

Johannes now told Dínus to make honorable peace with Maximianus, as not he but his daughter was to blame. They should proceed to Bláspuaborg and celebrate the wedding.

After a feast of two weeks, the king of Bláland returned to prepare for his daughter's nuptials. In due time, accompanied by the peers of India and of Egypt, Dínus, Tolomeus, and Johannes proceeded to Bláland. Maximianus sent Eleutherius to meet them. Cunning jugglers performed as they entered the city, and all kinds of minstrels. All the citizens were out, and the towers reëchoed with melodious songs. The streets were spread with costly rugs and purple webs. Maximianus advanced to meet them and conducted them into his royal hall to a wonderful banquet.

The feast lasted a month, and all Dínus's knights were married to their loves. When they were ready to return home, Philotemia's father gave presents of gold and jewels, and countless asses, camels, and tame lions. Feasting followed their coming to Alexandria. Gifts were bestowed, and Grammaton received Thebes and the title of duke. Dínus with his best knights accompanied Johannes to India, where he was welcomed by the regent, his cousin. He gave his cousin the title of king and the land of Media. After Dínus' return, his father died and he became sole ruler. Many famous kings were descended from him and Philotemia. And Johannes had a famous queen, though she is not named here.

Thus ends the saga of Dínus the proud and the fair Philotemia. God preserve us all! Amen.

How did these Greek romances come to Iceland from the East? The Varangian guard was strongest, and the relations of Norway with Byzantium most active, in the eleventh century. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the visits of Northmen to Byzantium were still frequent. Greek tales can hardly have failed to reach the North along with descriptions of the glories of Miklagarth. It is not impossible, also, that certain of the Greek romances may have been translated from manuscripts with the help of Greeks. This transmission, like the oral recitation, would have taken place at Constantinople rather than in Norway. But the visit of an itinerant Greek to the North is not incredible. Greeks did travel abroad.

About the time that Matthew Paris of St. Albans visited the Norwegian monasteries, there was a native Greek, Master Nicholas, clerk, at St. Albans Abbey. In the introduction to *Victor and Bláus*, one of the Byzantine *lygisögur*, occurs the statement quoted at the beginning of this chapter, that King Hákon Magnússon (1299–1319) caused translations to be made from Greek as well as French. Thus we may conclude that there was no uniform method of transmission. Generally, one may suppose, the romance was translated in the East and taken home by the sea route, or through Russia. But at times the translation was made from Greek texts in Norway or Iceland.

The Russian *lygisögur* are of much the same character and present much the same problems. Thus the *Saga of Vilmund Viðutan* is the history of a Russian peasant youth, who helps the royal family and marries a princess, daughter of King Visivold. Buris of Negroland and Godfrey of Galicia figure in the action. Other romances in this group are *Albanus, Hring and Tryggvi, File John*, and *Sigrgarð the Brave*.

A more curious and concealed contribution from the Russian empire was discovered by the late Moltke Moe in the introduction to the Icelandic translation of *Quatre Fils Aimon*. The tale is there linked with the birth of Charlemagne.

King Ludvig was married to Ermenga, princess of Miklagarth, but they had no offspring. He departed to the wars for three years, laying down for his queen three conditions. If they were not performed when he returned, she must lose her life. First, she must build a hall without peer and his throne shall be in it. Second, she must have a horse, a hawk, and a sword as good as his own. Third, she must bear a son to whom he is father.

The queen fulfilled all these conditions. Building the hall was a relatively simple matter; after which she clad herself as a knight, took ship, calling herself Earl, and made war on King Ludvig himself. Then, pretending to be the earl's captive, she revealed herself to him in her virgin beauty. The king offered "the earl" money for her hand; "he" gave her up only in exchange for the king's horse, hawk, and ring. Changing her costume, the maiden came to the king for three nights, and he gave her his seal ring. Thereupon the queen returned home and bore the child Karl. When the king came back at the end of three years, she showed him the hall, the horse, hawk, and sword, and proved by the seal ring that he was father of her child.

This theme of the three conditions is also the subject of a Norwegian popular ballad *Dei Tri Vilkori*. There are southern European parallels, but the tale most nearly resembling the Northern version is a story from a Turko-Tartar people on the border between Southern Siberia and western China. Here, in more primitive fashion, the wife sends the boy to the parent on the father's horse.*

These Eastern romances, to which we have turned our attention for some pages are, of course, no more concerned with Anglo-Scandinavian relations than those brought to the North by the Hansa traders. They have been introduced here for contrast and to lend clearer background to the romances of Western origin. For further clarity in an appendix to this volume will be found a comprehensive chart of some one hundred and twenty-five foreign romances in Old Norse and Icelandic manuscripts, grouped chronologically and according to the various families of romance. Much of this arrangement is sheer guesswork. Each romance is placed in the region of greatest probability. The list will be corrected by future investigators; someone must hazard a beginning.

In these *lygisögur* then we discover one of the most curious phenomena of literature. The native fiction of Iceland is realistic, even historical to an elsewhere unexampled degree; it tends to the sombre and the tragic; its style is stark and direct. And lo! these very Icelanders suddenly take to their hearts the most preposterous fabrications of Oriental fancy, stories in comparison with which the *Arabian Nights* begin to seem a little tame. But that is a problem for the psychologists.

CHAPTER XI

Epic Survivals *

Lo, praise of the prowess of people-kings
Of spear-armed Danes, in days long sped.

Béowulf

UP to this point we have been concerned chiefly with the romances which England contributed to Scandinavia. But, as we saw in our brief glance at England before the Norman Conquest, the treasury of Anglo-Saxon literature was in continual receipt of riches from the Scandinavian hoard. So, transgressing for a while the limits of the Angevin period, let us scrutinize these relics of an older age. We must distinguish between two great legendary bequests from the North: Anglo-Danish traditions surviving among the Anglo-Saxons from the period of the migration, and viking themes planted by the Danes and Norwegians during their occupation of eastern and northern England. As the first of these appear chiefly in pre-Conquest literature, we shall deal with them in the present chapter in a general way only. The themes of the Viking Age do not crop out in English literature until the twelfth century, and they will

be dealt with somewhat more fully in the two succeeding chapters.

Is more striking commentary needed on the debt of our literature to Scandinavia than that the scenes of our only national epic and of our greatest tragedy are both laid in Denmark? About two thirds of the action of *Béowulf* occurs in Danish Sjælland, while the remaining third of the more than three thousand lines deals with Géat-land. The origin of *Béowulf*, like the beginnings of most epics, is shrouded in mystery, but the poem probably took its present form about 720 A.D. Although it is an English epic, no panegyric by a Danish patriot could have been more laudatory of the Danes. It incorporates a variety of Northern themes (partly historical and partly fairy lore), of the sort that the Jutes and the Angles might be expected to have inherited from their old home in the Danish peninsula. The historical tales, or most of them, reappear centuries later in Old Northern literature, as traditions preserved either in Latin-Danish history or in the verse and saga of Iceland. But, how are they altered! Names and incidents that adhere as a unit in *Béowulf* are scattered into a hundred other situations, centuries apart, in Northern chronology; the actual hero of the English poem is all but forgotten, while other personages, to whom *Béowulf* alludes only in pass-

ing, have come into the foreground of Scandinavian story. To discover again the legends of *Béowulf* in later Scandinavian literature is like identifying through the eye of a kaleidoscope the old particles of tinted glass after a new turn of the instrument. Yet we must note at least some of the more striking of the equations established by the past century of scholarship.

The ground under the historian's feet is surest when he turns to the central Danish setting of *Béowulf*, the court of Hróðgar in Heorot, his newly finished hall. Hróðgar is the midlink of the three generations of Danish kings in the fifth and sixth centuries — Healfdene, Hróðgar, Hróðulf — who gave to Leire its glory and to the Skjöldung family their fame in Old Northern literature. The dynastic events alluded to in the English poem can be checked with such accuracy in Scandinavian pseudo-historical literature, that the epic serves as an historical as well as a literary document, and imagines Béowulf's visit to Hróðgar as occurring about the year 500. Seven of the leading Scylding characters of the epic — Scyld, Healfdene, Hróðgar, Hálga, Heoroweard, Hróðulf, and Héðric — come to the surface centuries later in Northern literature as performing the same relative functions under their Icelandic names: Skjold, Hálfdan, Hróar, Helgi, Hjörvarð, Hrólf, and Hrørik. But

the reign of Hróðgar, which fills the stage in the Anglo-Saxon poem, has been eclipsed in Scandinavian history by that of his nephew Hróðulf. In regard to the six names beginning with H, it may be noted that the practice of alliterating dynastic names was common in Scandinavia but not followed in England.

The North has handed down to us many sources for the history of Healfdene and his successors. The oldest is the poem *Bjarkamál*, preserved in Icelandic fragments and in Saxo's Latin paraphrase. Thereafter come the Danish-Latin histories compiled from tradition — the Esrom Chronicle of about 1165, Sven Aggison's history, shortly after 1185, and the great work that Saxo began before 1185 but did not finish until after 1216. From Iceland we have the *Langfeðgatal*, a twelfth-century genealogy; the *Skjöldunga Saga* from about 1200, preserved only in fragments and résumés; the verse of the *Bjarkarímur*, based largely on the latter work, but in its present form dating from the fifteenth century; and finally the highly romantic expansion of the story in the fourteenth century, *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*.

Hrólf Kraki, the favorite of the Scandinavian versions, was the nephew of that Hróar who under his Anglo-Saxon name Hróðgar is the patriarch who occupies the Danish throne in *Béowulf*. For

his father, Helgi, who is passed over in the English account, the Old Northern sources provide a dubious history of viking activity and amorous adventure. Hrólf's fame rests chiefly on two events: his expedition into Sweden and his brave defence of Hleiðargarð. On the latter occasion he was attacked by his liege-man Hjörvarð, with an army from Sweden—the corresponding Heoroweard mentioned in *Béowulf* was his first cousin. Hrólf and his men fell and the royal residence was burned. The *Bjarkamál* celebrates this struggle in the form of a dialogue in verse between two of Hrólf's faithful henchmen who perished in his defence. Leire, seat of the Skjöldung dynasty, is not mentioned in *Béowulf*, nor, on the other hand, is the name of the king's hall, Heorot ("The Hart"), clearly preserved in Danish tradition. Presumably, this was the name borne by one of the royal buildings destroyed at Leire on the night of Hrólf's overthrow, the particular catastrophe, it may be, predicted in *Béowulf* in the celebrated lines:

> There towered the hall,
> High, gabled wide, the hot surge waiting
> Of furious flame. Nor far was that day
> When father and son-in-law stood in feud
> For warfare and hatred that woke again.

The identification does not apply to the last three lines, which refer to another quarrel. The

poem tells how Hróðgar's daughter, Fréawaru, was about to make peace between her people and their neighbors and enemies, the Heaðo-Beards, by marrying their prince, Ingeld; "promised is she, gold-decked maid, to the glad son of Fróda." But a renewal of the feud is prophesied "when Ingeld's breast wells with war-hate, and wife-love grows cooler." Obviously the Heaðo-Beards were a Baltic people, but in Scandinavian history their saga is extinct. Instead, Ingellus appears in Saxo as a Danish king, the profligate and unworthy son of an illustrious Frotho. "The ash-wielder old" whom Béowulf foresees arousing Ingeld, the young Heaðo-Beard, against his Scylding father-in-law, is paralleled in Saxo by old Starcatherus, who incites Ingellus against his wife's hated German relatives. As the earlier English epic accounts of Danish history appear to be generally better informed than the later native sources, we may accept their information about Ingeld as nearer the actual events. That the story of Ingeld was also popular in England in the form of a lay is the testimony of Alcuin. In a letter written in 797 he warns the bishop of Lindisfarne against pagan songs: "Let the Word of God be read aloud in the refectory; for it is fitting that a reader rather than a harpist should minister to the ear, and the sermons of the Fathers rather than the songs of the Gentiles. What has Ingeld

to do with Christ? *quid Hinieldus cum Christo?*" But the clearest report of the Heaðo-Beard feud and the earliest, is found in four lines of the poem *Wídsíth* which bring the Danish king of *Béowulf* into terms of affectionate relationship with the nephew whose reign was later to eclipse his own in Icelandic and Danish saga.

> Hróðwulf and Hróðgar held for a very long time
> Friendship together, nephew and uncle,
> After they banished the band of the vikings,
> Bowed Ingeld's attack,
> Hewed down at Heorot the Heaðo-Beard's might.

The identification of Béowulf's own people, the Géatas, is not so easy as that of the Danish characters. In native Northern sources no tribal name appears in just this form. Who were these Geats from whose land the hero crossed the sea to the Danish court and whose king he later became? Two peoples have their advocates: the Götar, who occupied the strip between the Swedes and the Danes on the Swedish peninsula, and our own ancestors, the Jutes of Jutland. Philologically, honors are even: the historical and geographical arguments adduced on each side are many, and while scholars are divided, and the present adherents to the Götar theory include the most eminent students of *Béowulf* in England and America, Mr. Chambers and Professor Lawrence, the present

writer finds the equation of the Geats with the Jutes in Jutland more convincing.

This conclusion is derived from a study of the wars of the Geats. In *Béowulf* there are descriptions of two foreign wars conducted by the Geats across the sea. One of them was with the Swedes. "There was strife and struggle 'twixt Swede and Geat o'er the width of waters." *Ynglingatal,* an Old Norse poem of the ninth or tenth century, celebrating the Swedish dynasty of the Ynglings, likewise records a conflict with the Jutes of the Skjöldung period, who are sometimes called Danes. Here the names of the Jutland leaders are not given, but among the Swedes appear Óttar and his son Áðils, "the foe of Áli," whose names may be equated with those of the Geat Óhthere, his son Éadgils, and brother Onela, against whom Éadgils rebelled, according to *Béowulf.* In *Ynglingatal* we read :

> Ottar fell beneath the eagles' talons
> Valiantly before the weapons of the *Danes,*
> When the war-vulture with carrion foot
> Trod on his noble form in *Vendil.*

Now, though there is a Vendel in Swedish Uppland, there is also a Vendil in Jutland. And the confusion between Danes and Geats seems far more compatible with the theory that the Geats lived beside the Danes in Jutland than if they were on the opposite side of the Cattegat.

In the other war, that with the Franks, Béowulf's own lord and uncle, Hygelác, king of the Geats, lost his life. Four times the poem alludes to this battle, which is historical and is recorded both by Gregory of Tours and in the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. About 516, when Theodoric, son of Clovis, was king of Austrasia, "the Danes," with a great fleet under their king Chochilaicus, appeared off Frisia and ravaged the country near the mouth of the Rhine. Theodoric sent out an army under his son Theodebert, who defeated the pirates and slew their leader, whom Gregory calls king of the Danes: *Dani cum rege suo nomine Chochilaico.* If these raiders had come from distant Götland and not from Jutland, we should expect the fact to be more clearly indicated by calling them Swedes, or otherwise, instead of Danes. Moreover, *Béowulf* alludes to the Geat fear of the Franks. We know that the Franks were constantly threatening Saxony and Jutland, while there is no evidence that the peoples of the Swedish peninsula had occasion to see a Frankish war cloud at any time from the Stone Age down to Napoleon.

There are other good arguments favoring the Jutes. While the names of Geat heroes can be vaguely identified elsewhere, they do not occur in the runic inscriptions of Götland. Instead, we find an important harbor called Huglæstath near

Slesvig in South Jutland. In Saxo, whose wont was to draw local Jutland kings into the Danish dynastic trees of Sjælland, the fame of the mighty Hygelác has shrunk into two lines. "After him (Dan) ruled Hugletus, who, it is said, in a sea fight overcame the Swedish chieftains Ömoth and Ögrim." Finally, should we expect an Old English poet to be deeply concerned with the affairs of a people so remote as the Götar, whose princes had not the distinction of belonging, like Ermanaric, to the first ranks of far-travelled epic? Is it not more reasonable to suppose that he was celebrating the heroic deeds of his own neighbors in Jutland?

If the names of the other Geat characters have become veiled in the mists of history, the protagonist of the poem, with his strange achievements, still awaits identification. Except in one unilluminating Icelandic line, the name Béowulf is not to be found in the North, and no Northern hero has been discovered whose deeds satisfactorily parallel those of Béowulf the Geat. The two leading chapters of his story are a fight with a man-shaped troll and a feud with a fire-breathing dragon. Both are common-European folk-tales, by no means confined to the North. There are dragon fights enough in Scandinavian literature (Frodi's and Sigurd's being perhaps the most famous), but in their details they do not seem to stand closer to the

Béowulf dragon episode than similar stories in Celtic and German literature. With the Grendel theme the limits are narrower. In the Icelandic saga of Grettir the Outlaw, written down in the thirteenth century, we have a tale coinciding in many curious incidents with the slaying of Grendel and his mother. As in *Béowulf*, there is a house-invading troll who must be sought under a waterfall; also a male and a female troll. The resemblances are too striking to be ignored and indicate that *Grettis Saga* and *Béowulf* have made use of the same Scandinavian tale. Again, *Grettis Saga*, besides the waterfall trolls, has a story of another housebreaker named Glam, likewise subdued by Grettir. The two descriptions of the struggle in the hall are so similar in situation, although one is obscure, the other exact, that they may bear requoting. In *Béowulf*:

> The house resounded.
> Wonder it was the wine-hall firm
> In the strain of their struggle stood, to earth
> The fair house fell not; too fast it was
> Within and without by its iron bands
> Craftily clamped; though there crashed from sill
> Many a mead-bench — men have told me —
> Gay with gold, where the grim foes wrestled.

In the Icelandic saga:

> Then Grettir bore back before him into sundry seats; but the seat-beams were driven out of place and all was broken that was before them. Glam was fain to get out,

but Grettir set his feet against all things that he might; nathless Glam got him dragged from out the hall; there had they a wondrous hard wrestling.

The character in Scandinavian saga, however, with whom Béowulf most nearly corresponds is Böðvar Bjarki, Hrólf Kraki's most distinguished warrior, who slew a wild beast in the forest near Leire. Bjarki used the blood of the beast to arouse valor in his companion, Hjalti. Both Béowulf and Bjarki were adventurers who came from a distance, the one from Geat-land, the other from Norway, to take service and win distinction at the Danish court.

Béowulf, like the great classical epics, contains many passages descriptive of events not immediately associated with the action. Among them is the swimming test in which the hero and Breca the Bronding engage. Again we may remark upon a long digression about a Danish — more properly Jutlandish — expedition to Frisia, which had tragic consequences. Connected with this passage is the Anglo-Saxon Finnsburg fragment, which begins abruptly with an exhortation from the leader of the Danes to his men to defend the hall against the attack of the Frisians. A possible Scandinavian survival of this story may be found in the startling fact that the names of three companions of the Danish chieftain Hengest in this tale of

Finn — Hunláf, Guðláf, and Ordláf — reappear in a Latin summary of the Icelandic *Skjöldunga Saga* as three sons of the Danish king Leif — Hunleif, Gunnleif, and Oddleif.

In praising Queen Hygd, wife of Hygelác, the Geat king, Béowulf alluded to another tale popular among our ancestors alike in Jutland and in England, the life of King Offa. The passage is intriguingly obscure, but we can gather that there was once a queen named Þrýð, of a haughty and malicious disposition, who cruelly put her liegemen to death. She mended her ways

> After she went,
> Gold-decked bride, to the brave young prince,
> Atheling haughty, and Offa's hall
> O'er the fallow flood at her father's bidding.

There is a still earlier English allusion to Offa, thus translated by Chadwick, in the poem *Wídsíth:* — "Offa ruled over Angel, Alewih over the Danes. He was the bravest of all these men; yet he did not prevail over [or surpass] Offa in heroism. But Offa at a time earlier than any other man, even when he was a boy, won the greatest of kingdoms. No one of like age has ever performed a more heroic deed. With his own sword alone he fixed [or enlarged] his frontier against the Myrgingas at Fifeldor [the Eider]. The boundary gained by Offa has been retained ever since by the Engle and the Swæfe."

Offa figures also in the genealogy of the kings of Mercia, of which the earliest existing manuscript dates from the beginning of the ninth century. It begins with the names of Wóden, Wihtlaeg, Wærmund, and Offa. After eleven other names Offa occurs again. The second Offa is a well-known historical king of Mercia, who ruled from 757 to 796. The first Offa must have reigned over the Angles in their Continental home. Allowing thirty years to a generation, the date of his birth may be reckoned back to about the year 360, which suits other traditions admirably.

The fullest English account of the Offa story comes to us, however, from a later period, in the *Vitae Duorum Offarum*, a Latin work from St. Albans Abbey, formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris, the great historian of the thirteenth century, but probably dating from the twelfth. The manuscript is adorned with skilful and amusing illustrations by one who knew more of the tale than is written down. The two lives are highly romantic in character, and both kings are described as ruling in England, but it is quite evident from the nature of the tales that the first Offa is the Continental hero, the second the Mercian king of the eighth century. The first Offa, we are told, was the son of Warmundus, king of the "West Angles." Though of great strength and size, he had been blind until

his seventh year, and now, at the age of thirty, was still dumb. One of the nobles rebelled, and Warmundus called a council to take measures. When the others were in perplexity, the prince suddenly obtained the power of speech and offered to lead the army against the rebels. They met on the opposite banks of the river Riganburne. Offa crossed the stream at the head of his troops and with his own hand slew the two sons of the rebel leader. The victory of Offa's army was complete. Warmundus met him as he was returning from the battle and gave the kingdom into his hands.

The life of the second Offa follows in general the historical career of that king. There appears, however, a romantic tale of his marriage which conflicts with more historical records. According to the *Vita*, Offa married a woman who was cast up in a small boat, alone, on the shores of Britain. She was named Drida and was a relative of Karolus, king of the Franks. Being condemned for a crime, the nature of which we are not told, she had been cast adrift on the sea. As Offa's queen, she subsequently evinced a depraved character, murdering the king of East Anglia, betrothed to her daughter, and plotting against the life of her husband. At last she was slain by robbers, and Offa, in gratitude for his deliverance, decided to establish a religious house at St. Albans. The resem-

blance of this Drida, wife of Offa, in the *Vita*, to Þrýð, wife of Offa, in *Béowulf*, is apparent. In the course of the centuries, English tradition had passed on the marital misfortunes of the first Offa to his descendant and namesake.

In Scandinavian historical traditions the story of Offa's bride from the sea is not preserved. His military career is, however, recorded with striking confirmations of *Wídsíth*, *Béowulf*, the Mercian genealogy, and especially the *Vita*. The story appears in the Danish history of Sven Aggison, from the latter part of the twelfth century; in Saxo about 1200; and in the Chronicles of Ry in South Jutland in the thirteenth century. Offa's name occurs in a list of kings from Skåne, and the name of Vermund, his father, in Icelandic sources. The Danish accounts agree in the main, though there are differences enough to indicate that they are derived orally from folk-tales rather than from written records. Offa has the same father and grandfather as in the Mercian genealogy, the English sequence — Wihtlæg, Wærmund, Offa — appearing in the Dano-Latin as Vigletus, Wermundus, Uffo. As in the *Vita*, Uffo is silent until his thirtieth year, and regains his speech only when his father's rule is threatened; he engages in single combat with two of the enemy, overcoming them near a river. According to Saxo, Vigletus was one

of the Skjöldung kings of Denmark, with his seat at Leire in Sjælland. It was he who overthrew Amlethus, ruler of Jutland. Wermundus and Uffo, however, are mentioned only in connection with places in central and southern Jutland, and it is more reasonable to believe that the tradition was a place-tale from South Jutland, and that the local kings, in this case kings of the Angles, were later adopted in popular Danish tradition as sovereigns of the whole Danish people — a phenomenon which we have noticed before in the case of Hygelác the Geat. Saxo substitutes for the battle on the Eider a single combat on an island in the river. The opponents are not rebels (as in the *Vita*), but a hostile nation (as in *Wídsíth*) — Saxons in Saxo, Allemanni in Sven Aggison. In Saxo's version of the Uffo story, one Frowinus is governor of Slesvig under Wermundus, and he has a son named Wigo. It is interesting to note that these names occur in their English form in the genealogy of kings of the West Saxons, Fréawine and his son Wig.

The Uffo story in Denmark, especially the scene of the combat where old king Wermund sits on Eider-bridge ready to plunge into the river in case his son is overcome, was characterized by the late Axel Olrik as perhaps the noblest of Old Danish traditions and one of the most superb descriptions

in Old Northern literature. To us the tale is most interesting as an apparent instance of the tradition of an actual king of the English in their home-land in South Jutland, carried across the sea with their migration to Britain, and preserved side by side in Denmark and in England during seven centuries, acquiring in each land layer on layer of local color, transferred in one case to Sjælland and Leire, in the other to Mercia and Warwick, but keeping names and details sufficiently alike to preclude any doubt of the identification. The remarkable preservation of this tradition is due to accident, to the intrinsic interest of the tale, and to the fame of Offa, "the most renowned," according to *Béowulf*, "of the sons of earth between the seas."

While *Béowulf* and its stories occupy most of the stage of English epic survivals there is another even earlier poem with Scandinavian sympathies. *Wídsíth* is a Social Register of royal families, stretching geographically from Sweden to Italy, and chronologically from the fourth century to the time of Alboin, who died in 572. In this literary fiction a wandering poet sings of the courts he has visited or has heard of, and catalogues the name of each ruler and his people, sometimes accompanying the allusion with a short descriptive passage. His chief interest, of course, is in the great epic figures of the Continent, Attila the Hun,

Ermanaric the Goth, Alboin the Lombard; but the poem bristles with names that appear later in Northern and German epic and romance (the Völsung Lays, *Hervarar Saga*, *Kudrun*, the *Niebelungenlied*), and it even mentions a hero of the Finnish *Kalevala*. The centre of Wídsíth's circumference seems, however, to be at the base of Jutland near the Baltic peoples whom Tacitus knew as Ingaevones; for the poet betrays a special knowledge of the small tribes to the north which is not justified by their international celebrity. Of characters out of the far North, he mentions Ongenthéow (Scandinavian Angantýr) of the Swedes, and Cælic of the Finns. The poet's own folk, the Myrgings, were neighbors of the Angles, whose king Offa is extolled in the highest terms. In the Danes, likewise, Wídsíth evinces profound interest. Their kings are mentioned thrice; as when we read: "Sigehere ruled the Sea-Danes for a very long time." In Scandinavian literature we find only one king of this name (Sigar). In Old Norse poetry and in Saxo he is most famous for the hanging of Hagbard, lover of his daughter Signý. He is associated with Sigersted in Sjælland, near which place jewels and drinking vessels have been recovered from a time and seat of kingship (200–400 A.D.), earlier than the Gold-period (400–600), when Skjöldungs ruled at Leire or Heorot. Again, Wídsíth names a Danish

king Alewih, whom scholars have as yet failed to identify; and last, Hróðwulf and Hróðgar, in the passage quoted above. "We have such a survey . . . . . ." says Mr. Chambers, "as might have been made by a gleeman who drew his lore from the tradition of the ancient Angel."

Anglo-Saxon poetry, so rich in Scandinavian matter, exhibits little kinship in form. Occasionally we find evidence of the employment of dramatic dialogue, a favorite device in Old Northern literature, both in poetry and in prose history. The early Northern poem *Bjarkamál*, the historical *motifs* of which, we found, agree with *Béowulf*, is composed in the form of a dialogue between two of Hrólf Kraki's warriors on the night of the attack on Leire. Hjalti exhorts Bjarki to the combat in defence of his lord, calling to mind the gifts and favors he has received from him. Similar exhortations are found in English in the Finnsburg fragment, in the *Battle of Maldon*, and in *Béowulf*, where Wígláf urges the warriors to assist Béowulf against the dragon. Indeed, the very phrases of Wígláf's entreaty are reproduced in *Bjarkamál*.

Anglo-Saxon verse is prevailingly non-strophic; Old Norse is strophic. Therefore, if we find stanzas embedded in the Anglo-Saxon *corpus poeticum* we become at once suspicious of Scandinavian prototypes. On the other hand, it is unfair to say that

the early English had no stanzaic structure of their own because so few examples exist. There are preserved only three examples of stanzaic structure in Anglo-Saxon heathen poetry, and these imperfect: the *Gnomic Verses*, *Déor's Lament*, and the lyrical monologue that still goes by the misnomer "the First Riddle of Cynewulf." And each of these have Scandinavian associations, though the first two are apparently native: the Gnomic Verses at once recall the proverbs of the *Hǫvamǫl:* the horizon of *Déor* is that of Old Norse heroic poetry. Less than two decades ago, two American scholars, working at first independently and later in collaboration, came to the revolutionary conclusion that the so-called "First Riddle" was apparently a translation from Old Norse of a lost lament of Signý the Volsung for her brother Sigmund the "Wolf" and for the son of their terrible union, Sinfjǫtli. This hypothesis has not yet been overthrown. The poem exhibits the *liódsháttr* strophe, a metrical form peculiar to Old Norse poetry, and contains unusual words that can be interpreted only as Norse.

If we accept the orthodox dates of the eighth century for the "Riddle," and the year 800 as the earliest possible limit for Eddic versification, at which time the Old Scandinavian language steadied down, after two centuries of violent contraction of

syllables, into its mediæval literary form, we are faced with a new problem. Versification must then have gone on through the period of linguistic upheaval, and *Signý's Lament* is an example of transition verse — an hypothesis not contradicted by the irregular character of the strophes. If it was the work of a Scandinavian visitor to England who endeavored to translate from Old Norse into Anglo-Saxon, the poem indicates an intermediate stage of Northern influence upon English literature, between the period of Anglian colonization and the beginning of the viking raids.

The Anglo-Saxon mind was slower than the Northern and the Celtic imagination in weaving the fabric of episode, and borrowed from both for the store of narrative. It was in other ways that Old English poetry showed originality. The form of its verse structure was not Northern; it was flowing, continuous, discursive, prevailingly non-stanzaic. Old Norse metres, on the other hand, were strophic; they were lyric-dramatic, staccato, — epical building blocks or survivals, as you like — but never epic in the sense of *Béowulf* or *Maldon*. And the temperament of Anglo-Saxon literature, whether verse or prose, is not exactly reproduced elsewhere; it is in a real sense original. The Anglo-Saxon mind as expressed in art is reflective and melancholy. Its rhythm suggests a little the bag-

pipes of the Highlands; it has a thin echo in the minor key of some Danish writers of the present day. These qualities may be part Saxon, part Celtic, or nurtured wholly by British fogs and climate. They are quite unlike the viking North. The *Eddas* and sagas could be tragic and grim enough. Sigrún went down into the tomb of her lover; the geese in the courtyard screamed their sympathy for Gudrun's grief. But a viking's sorrow was never softly pliant and hopeless; it stiffened with the resolution of revenge. Anglo-Saxon melancholy gives artistic glamour to its wealth of religious literature. It seems to envelop lyrics like *The Wanderer* in a mantle of violet mist. It spreads a contemplative, descriptive atmosphere over the vigorous tale of *Béowulf* and gives the bold Scandinavian material a brooding quality characteristic of what is national and original in Old English poetry. Such description as the following was never written by Norwegian skald or Norman poet:

> Untrod is their home;
> By wolf-cliffs haunt they and windy headlands,
> Fenways fearful, where flows the stream
> From mountains gliding to gloom of the rocks,
> Underground flood. Not far is it hence
> In measure of miles that the mere expands,
> And o'er it the frost-bound forest hanging,
> Sturdily rooted, shadows the wave.

The man of English blood who visits Denmark to-day, and stands upon the site of the ancient hall of the Skjöldungs, or gazes from a hillock at sunset over the rolling wilderness of one of the beech woods near Leire that shut out the view to the fjord, will feel surging within him somewhat of the delicious melancholy of his Anglo-Saxon forebears, as he pictures again those grim days and the approach of the monster, when

> From the moorland, by misty crags,
> With God's wrath laden, Grendel came.

CHAPTER XII

Six Viking Sagas

The young king waged war against the English,
And made a slaughter of the Northumbrians.
He destroyed the Scots far and wide.
He held a sword-play in Man.
The archer-king brought death to the Islanders and the Irish;
He battled with the dwellers in the land of the British,
And cut down the Cumbrian folk.

Hallfreþ, Skald to Olaf Tryggvason

THE last chapter was concerned with the connection of Anglo-Saxon literature with Danish historical and legendary themes. The present chapter deals with literary consequences of the Viking Age, and in particular with those seeds of viking story planted in England, which were long preserved in the rich soil of oral tradition but cropped up in literary form only in the twelfth century.

The wild and spectacular performances of the Norsemen in almost every region of the British Isles did not fail to leave a profound impress. We have already seen how the West Saxons and Mercians exulted over their victory at Brunanburh,

and the Irish over their victory at Clontarf. To have driven to their ships these fierce and fearless giants was an achievement unforgettable. Even apart from the compositions of court poets, the memory of the vikings lived on among the people. King Magnus Barelegs of Norway, who made forays against Scotland and Ireland in 1093, 1098, and 1102, affected vividly the folklore of the districts which he harried. "Magnus or Manus, king of Lochlann" figures in many Celtic ballads and tales. He won a place in the Ossianic cycle and even worked his way into a late redaction of the *Tragical Death of the Sons of Usnach.** And in such an unexpected quarter as the Quantock Hills in Somersetshire one finds even to-day many traces of Northern influence in popular lore.

Before tracing further evidences of viking influence in the British Isles, we may glance briefly at the important, though as yet undecided question of English and Irish influence upon the literature of the North at this early period. The three chief types of Old Norse literature are the Eddic lays, skaldic poetry, and the prose sagas. Attempts have been made by scholars of great learning to prove the southern derivation of these forms.

For instance, the Eddic lays, according to the theory elaborated by Sophus Bugge, were for the most part composed by Norwegian poets attached

to the courts of Scandinavian kings who reigned now in Northumberland, now at Dublin. Traces of mediæval apocrypha and of Anglo-Saxon and Irish literature are alleged in support. But the prevailing opinion looks upon these arguments as over-strained. Finnur Jónsson holds that most of the lays were written in Norway in the tenth century.

A better case can be made out for the Irish origin of skaldic verse-forms. The extreme theory that the Northern skald is an imitation of the Irish bard is untenable in view of the fact, pointed out by Jónsson, that Audun Illskælda was skald for Harald Fairhair's father before it became the fashion for Norse chieftains to beach their dragon beaks on Irish sands, and that the earliest recorded skalds until the first half of the tenth century were not Icelanders or men from the West, but Norwegians. But in the matter of verse-forms — the strophe, the rhyme, the kenning — though there may have been borrowings on both sides, the Irish examples seem to be the older. Here then is a definite debt to Ireland.

The third literary type, the prose saga, developed in Iceland into so unique and amazing a literary phenomenon, and in its whole character is so distinct from the corresponding Irish form, that the question of a possible debt seems at first

sight preposterous. The Northern style is terse, serious, truthful, objective; the Irish ornate, humorous, exaggerated. Nevertheless, the practice of interspersing bits of older skaldic verse through the prose narrative corresponds to Irish usage. Furthermore, despite the sharp contrast in the spirit of the two national literatures, it may well be that the infusion of Celtic blood into the Icelanders which took place when some of the Norwegian colonists brought with them wives from Ireland and the Hebrides, was just the necessary leaven to produce the great sagas. Alexander Bugge has said: "Is the resemblance between Icelandic and Celtic women accidental? Have not the Celtic blood which flowed in many Icelanders' veins and the strong influence from Irish culture, the many colonists from the Hebrides and Ireland, set their stamp upon the Icelander's character? We see the resemblance in externals, in the dark hair and the small, black eyes, but did it not also include the character, the wild passions, the strong hatred, but also the burning love that we do not find elsewhere in the North?" While such questions are incapable of determination, they are not without the fascination of uncertainty and poetic indefiniteness.

Let us turn from these nebulous speculations to a subject capable of more vigorous inquiry: the in-

terpretation of the viking invasion by the literary imagination of mediæval England. Of the six traditions selected for discussion, two, associated respectively with Ragnar Loðbrók and Siward Digri, are preserved only in Latin "histories," and apparently never passed beyond the stage of folk-tale and folksong into formal poetry. Two other heroes, Havelok and Horn, were celebrated in English and Anglo-Norman romance. The last two examples are romances — the one of Celtic origin, the other of Continental — which have been supplied with viking prefaces: *Tristan* and *Bevis of Hampton*.

In Northern legend, one of the greatest of all vikings was Ragnar Loðbrók.* He figures largely in Saxo's history and in Icelandic romantic saga. He leads his Danish followers to all parts of the earth, including regions as remote as Scythia and the Hellespont. In foreign sources he appears about the middle of the ninth century as besieger of Paris, whence he was driven by plague. His sons, however, are more clearly defined in the light of history as leaders in the raids upon England and the Continent. The Icelandic accounts dwell more particularly upon Ragnar's love affairs and his fatal expedition, real or imagined, to England, where he was captured by a king Ælla and thrown into a pit of serpents.

What does English tradition have to offer to corroborate the Scandinavian accounts of Ragnar? It seems to know nothing of King Ælla and his serpent pit. In English history Loðbrók appears only in accounts of the martyrdom of King Edmund of East Anglia (November 20, 870), as father of the terrible Danish leaders who caused his death. There are three versions. The first account, that of the earliest historians and the most prevalent, does not mention the parentage of Ingvar and Ubba. The brothers were sufficient unto their day as chieftains of the Danish army. In the second form, Loðbrók does not himself appear in England, but is pictured as the indirect instrument of Providence to bring calamity on Edmund. "Such a one was Lodebroth, a very wealthy and famous man, but deceitful and criminal, whose name when interpreted signifies loathly brook (*odiosus rivus*), from which brook emanated that loathsome river of filth, that accursed spawn — I mean his three sons, Inguar, Hubba, and Bern." * Hubba was a magician. One day Lodebroth rebuked his sons because they had done nothing comparable to the exploits of King Edmund. Egged on thus by the sire, they organized the expedition which provided England with a new saint.

The third and fullest version, which first appears in the thirteenth century, brings Loðbrók to Eng-

land, not as a fierce character, but as a solitary huntsman, shipwrecked on the shores of East Anglia. Thus Roger of Wendover tells the tale:

It seems that there was not long ago in the Danish kingdom a member of the royal family of that people by name Lothbroc, who had by his wife two sons, namely Hinguar and Hubba. One day Lothbroc, hawk on fist, embarked alone in a little boat, with the intention of hunting duck and other small fowl among the islands which fringe the sea-coast. A storm suddenly arose and Lothbroc was driven out to sea. For several days and nights he was tossed hither and thither, and exposed to much suffering, but at length, after undergoing unnumbered perils at sea, he was cast on the shores of England, and landed in that part of the East Anglian province which is called Norfolk by the inhabitants, at a village known as Reedham. By good luck he was found by the country folk, unattended except by his hawk, and was conducted as a living miracle to Edmund, the king of the East Anglians, by whom in person he was honorably received as being of very distinguished appearance. He remained for some time at Edmund's court, and as the Danish language has close affinity with English, entered upon a description of the accident which led to his drifting to England.*

To pursue his favorite sport Lothbroc attached himself to the court huntsman Bernus (Old Norse *Biǫrn*). "For he was an adept in fowling as well as hunting." Bernus became jealous of his foreign rival. He murdered Lothbroc and left his body in a thicket. But the Dane's faithful greyhound, returning to the court, led to the discovery of the

crime. For punishment Bernus was cast adrift in the very boat in which Lothbroc had arrived. As luck would have it, the boat drifted to Denmark, and Bernus told the sons of Lothbroc that King Edmund had done their father to death. They organized an expedition, ravaged England, slew Edmund, and cast his body and head into the wood, where they believed he had murdered Lothbroc. But the members of the saint remained uncorrupted and wrought miracles. We must suppose that this simple tale of Loðbrók the hunter, contributed thus to the cycle of the great but mysterious viking chieftain by English monks, was transmitted through the Danish settlers in England. We cannot doubt that Archbishop Eystein of Norway heard it again when he guested at Bury St. Edmunds in 1181.

The traditions about Siward, earl of Northumberland,* are preserved in fuller detail. The historical Siward appears to have come to England with Cnut the Great. He became a distinguished thane. Under Harðacnut he slew Eadwulf, earl of Northumberland, and received his earldom, also that of Huntingdon. He stood by Edward the Confessor in his strife with Earl Godwin. In 1054 he led the expedition against King Macbeth of Scotland, whom he defeated in a bloody battle on July 27. His son Osbeorn was lost in the fight.

The following year he died himself. "He called for his armor and, harnessed as if again to march against Macbeth, the stout Earl Siward breathed his last. But this fierce spirit was not inconsistent with the piety of the time. Saint Olaf, the martyred king of the Northmen, had by this time become a favorite object of reverence, especially among men of Scandinavian descent. In his honor Earl Siward had reared a church in a suburb of his capital called Galmanho, a church which after the Norman Conquest developed into that great Abbey of Saint Mary whose ruins form the most truly beautiful ornament of the Northern metropolis. In his own church of Galmanho Siward the Strong, the true relic of old Scandinavian times, was buried with all honour." (Freeman.)

Siward's second son and celebrated successor, Waltheow, earl of Huntingdon, was buried in Croyland Abbey chapel, and it is a history of the Huntingdon earls, written in Croyland in Danish East Anglia, that gives the traditional account of Siward's life. This Croyland story, for all its Latin dress, reads like an Icelandic saga.

The viking features of the narrative begin with the origin of Siward's family. As the historical Siward first appeared upon the scene a full-fledged thane of Cnut, we should expect legend to fill in the background of his antecedents and his youth.

In the kingdom of the Danes an earl of royal blood had an only daughter. One day, in the woods with her playmates, she was seized by a bear, who carried her off and begot by her a son named Beorn, whose ears, a reminder of his origin, were those of a bear. Bear parentage was a favorite theme in old Scandinavian lore, and the ear feature is paralleled in Jutlandish as well as Slavic folk-tale. Beorn was surnamed Beresun (bear's son). Beorn's son Siward, in turn, inherited his father's brute courage and prowess, and won the surname *Digri* (the stout). Such an ambitious youth could not bear to bide at home, but set sail, like thousands of brother vikings, with a brave following. His first adventure was on Orkney, where he defeated a dragon and drove him away from the land, a feat familiar in viking history from Ragnar Loðbrók to Harald Harðráði.

He went thence to Northumberland; there his next typically Scandinavian performance was to meet an old man sitting on the top of a steep hill, who proceeded to give him important advice. It is easy for us to recognize in this old man of the mountain the disguised Odin as he appears in Saxo and Icelandic saga, although to the Croyland monk, who does not know any of his numerous stage-names or even that he is one-eyed, the counsellor is but a mysterious stranger.

The old man took from his breast a banner which he presented to the young viking, giving it the name Ravenlandeye (Raven, terror of the land). Following the seer's predictions, Siward arrived ultimately at Westminster. There he was received by King Edward and had the good fortune, in the course of a quarrel, to hack off the head of Tosti, earl of Huntingdon, and to receive his earldom. As a memorial of this achievement a church was built on the site, which is called to this day "the Dane's church." From here on, the character of Siward's adventures is less that of the romantic *fornaldarsögur* and more that of the historical *Íslendingasögur*, with their sequence of fights and revenges. When he proceeded against the Scots, he learned that his own people in Northumberland had revolted and slain his son Osbernus Bulax. In his wrath Siward heaved up his battle axe and split a round rock, which could still be seen. This feat recalls the account in *Ragnars Saga* of the effect which the tidings of Ragnar's death produced upon his sons. Likewise full of Northern character is the last scene, where the dying earl has himself raised upright and clad in his armor, in order not to die "lying down like a cow."

The traditional account has a stronger Scandinavian coloring than the true history. All its personages, with the exception of King Edward, are

"of Danish birth." It omits the Englishmen who played an important part in the life of the historical Siward, even his second son and heir, Waltheow, with his Anglo-Saxon name. The surnames *Beresun*, *Digri*, *Bulax*, are Scandinavian. Beorn transliterates the Old Norse Biǫrn. The Latin text uses the Scandinavian name for the Orkneys instead of the Latin. Raven-landeye, the name of Siward's banner, is curiously like Landeyða ("that which lays waste the land"), the banner carried before Harald Harðráði on his untimely expedition to England in 1066.

The late Axel Olrik saw in this saga features that were peculiarly Anglo-Scandinavian, and furthermore, Anglo-Norwegian, rather than native Danish. He believed the Siward tradition, like other Scandinavian stories developed in England, to represent an important stage in the growth of that Scandinavian heroic legend which reached its height in thirteenth-century Icelandic saga. Taken as a whole, Siward's saga exhibits a blending of romantic and historical saga style.

The next legend, that of Havelok the Dane,* is connected with history by a much slenderer thread than that of Siward. This tradition, however, is more significant for literature, since Havelok was celebrated in several pseudo-histories, is the hero of romances both in French and English, and fig-

ures in local stories such as that of "Havelok's stone," and in plastic art on the seal of Grimsby. The chief literary remains are the story in Geffrei Gaimar's Anglo-French *Estorie des Engles*, written about 1150; *Le Lai d'Havelok*, likewise of the twelfth century; a résumé by Robert Manning of Brunne, about 1338; and the English *Havelok*, a rhymed romance of three thousand lines, composed apparently in the second half of the thirteenth century. The first three agree more or less in the spelling of the names against the fourth, but the kernel of the story is the same in all. Both the French and the English traditions are traceable to Lincolnshire, whose Scandinavian colonists and their descendants would be likely perpetuators of the tale. The English *Havelok*, says one editor, "is saturated with Norse words. Indeed, their number is so great as to be in itself evidence of composition in some stronghold of Norse influence, such as Lincolnshire is known to have been. Here we have indeed a mixed dialect. The poet uses at will a Norse flexional form like the plural *hend*, 'hands,' and prefers Norse words where the English would pass as well for rime."

The plot is comparatively simple. England and Denmark are united by Havelok, and the action is parallel in each land. An English king dies, leaving his daughter and heir to the protection of a

friend who proves faithless. The same happens in Denmark to the king's son Havelok. He is saved by a fisherman named Grim, who flees with him and his own family to England, and there founds Grimsby. Havelok grows up a youth of surpassing strength; his kingly origin is revealed to his friends in his sleep by the light which pours from his mouth and by the king-mark on his shoulders. He takes service as a scullion in Lincoln and is forced by the English tyrant into marriage with the princess in order to degrade her. Coming of age, Havelok crosses to Denmark and takes forcible possession of his kingdom. Returning again to England with his Danish followers, he wins for his wife the kingdom which is hers by right.

The Welsh form of the names in the French account of Havelok have pretty well established the theory that the story in one stage passed through the hands of the Cumbrian Welsh of Strathclyde. Havelok is the Welsh Abloyc for Anglo-Saxon Ánláf, Old Norse Ólaf. Havelok was also called Cuaran, an Irish word meaning "sandal." Havelok Cuaran, then, is no other than the celebrated Olaf Cuaran, Norse king of Dublin and York, who was defeated by Athelstan at Brunanburh. The identity is satisfactory; no wonder that a personage whose fame was bruited over all the Northern world in historical records should also endear him-

self to popular fiction. But when we come to compare the career of Cuaran of the tenth century with that of Cuaran of the twelfth, the correspondences are as remote as in the Icelandic and English stories of Loðbrok. Substitute Iceland for Denmark and the agreement is better. More likeness is to be found in the life of Cuaran's uncle Reginwald, whose adventures may well have descended to his family. Still greater resemblances have been discovered in the sagas of another Olaf — Tryggvason — whose brilliant career, distinct in the light of history, impressed itself on mediæval minds as an heroic viking type of dimensions almost as ample as those of the more mythical Ragnar Loðbrók. The boy Olaf Tryggvason was spirited out of Norway by his mother. On the way to Russia, they were captured by pirates, who sold Olaf into captivity. A similar fate befell the fugitive infant Havelok, whose ship was seized in the North Sea by vikings who slew his mother. Olaf was a slave, Havelok a scullion. The mysterious light that spread over Olaf is remotely suggestive of the tell-tale flame which Havelok breathed out in his sleep. The king-mark on Havelok's shoulder may be found again in the "fleck" borne by Áli in Icelandic romance.

The Hamlet story is another Northern tale that has attracted elements attached also to Havelok.

Both Hamlet and Havelok operated in Denmark and in England, and both married resourceful English women. Each was helped in battle by a curious stratagem, suggested at any rate in Havelok's case by his wife: the dead after the first day's battle were tied upright to stakes, in the semblance of a fresh army, to discourage the enemy. This feature has been called, with some likelihood, a favorite Hiberno-Danish camp story.

In its last stage the Havelok story became a place-tale at Grimsby, whose reputed founder, Grim, was the hero's friend and protector. On the ancient seal of the city, Grim (or "Gryem" as he is labelled phonetically according to Old Northern pronunciation), is given the central position, between two miniature figures of 'Habloc' and his wife 'Goldeburgh.'

The fourth tradition, that relating to Horn,* has quite outlived any historical events that it may record. The chief literary redactions are: — the *Geste of King Horn*, a severely simple English minstrel song from the middle of the thirteenth century; *Horn et Rimenhild*, a French courtly poem of the twelfth century, that introduces romantic matter not relevant to the present study; a second English romance, *Horn Child*, a garbled version from the period shortly before 1325; and

the Scottish ballads of *Hind Horn*, perhaps derived from the latter romance. The fundamental strength and persistence of the story is further attested by its incorporation into the late fourteenth-century French prose romance of *Ponthus et Sidoine*, which was translated into German and English and appeared in Icelandic *rímur* of the sixteenth century. The earliest form of the story must be sought in the English *gest*, although this probably derives from a lost Anglo-Norman romance.

The story of Horn is essentially another phase of the tale of "exile and return" so popular in the North, of which we have already seen one example in Havelok. Horn is son of the king of a land named Sudene. Marauders from the sea slay his father, take possession of the realm, and set the boy adrift. He is cast ashore in Westerness (in Britain), where he is kindly treated by the king of that land. He grows up to be an accomplished knight and wins the love of the princess Rimenhild. His affection is discovered and Horn is banished. The lovers, however, pledge themselves to be faithful for seven years. Horn spends this period in Ireland, where his deeds win the gratitude of the Irish king, who offers him his daughter. Hearing that Rimenhild is about to be married against her will, he returns to Westerness and,

coming to the wedding feast in disguise, rescues the bride. Before marrying her, however, he wins back his own native land. The appearance of another lover hastens his return to Rimenhild, whom he now bears off at last to his own country. The Irish princess he weds to a friend.

The place of action for this tale is obscure. Sudene is by many identified with southern Denmark. If this equation were correct, it would, as well as any other, support the hypothesis of Norse origin. The scene of action would then be much the same as that of Olaf-Havelok: namely, Ireland, Britain, Denmark. A more attractive and convincing set of localities, however, is offered by Professor Schofield, who identifies Sudene with the Isle of Man, the largest of what the Norsemen called the Suðreyjar, "South Isles." In Westerness he sees the promontory of Wirral near Chester — a territory, judging from its place names, thickly populated by Norwegians. Ireland is called Westir in the romance. Thus the orbit of Horn's activities — Ireland, Man, and the Welsh coast of Britain — is that of many an actual adventurer of viking descent in the tenth century. The names of the principal characters reflect Scandinavian origin. For a similar love story in Icelandic literature we need search no farther than the celebrated loves of Gunnlaug Serpent-Tongue and Helga the Fair.

Gunnlaug, it may be noted, visited Dublin in the course of his voyages. However, the theories concerning the origin of Horn are little more than guesses. The explanation that explains most is the assumption that the story was first told by people of Norwegian descent in western England. The style of the *Geste*, "simple, direct, graphic, vigorous," impresses the reader with a kinship to Old Norse saga. Still more Scandinavian in some respects is the later *Horn Child*, where Horn's native land has been carried over to Northumberland and localized in Yorkshire, while the invaders are recognized as Danes "out of Denmark." This account seems to reflect viking events more easily traceable in history.

The last two traditions under discussion, *Tristan* and *Bevis of Hampton*,* are obviously not examples of Anglo-Scandinavian romances, for the one is in its kernel Celtic, and the other Continental. But a viking tale has apparently been inserted as introduction to each romance. The colors of the various pieces in the patchwork have run, so that the exact lines of division are lost. Still in *Tristan* one detects the Northern element in the narrative of the hero's youth; to a less extent in his fight with Morhold and later with the dragon. The area of action of the voyages between Cornwall and Ireland is that of the youthful Hereward,

whom we shall discuss presently, and similar to that of Horn, and of Samson in the Icelandic *Samsons Saga Fagra*. The *motif* of the "two ladies" is dear to all of them. Tristan and Hereward both find favor at the Cornish court as minstrels.* Horn and Tristan return in disguise to their mistresses. The anecdote of the adventure with the Norwegian merchants in Tristan's youth is a further hint of Scandinavian handling. The hypothesis of an Anglo-Northern element, loosely attached, helps to explain away several inconsequences in the action of the romance as it is handed down in literature.

The revenge theme so dear to Scandinavians runs strong in all six of our representative traditions. The strongest accent perhaps is in *Bevis of Hampton*. Banished by his adulterous mother and her husband, his father's murderer, the hero goes far afield for adventure, notably to the Orient, in an elaborate preparation for the revenge which he at length returns to exact. Superficially at least, Beves has more in common with Saxo's Amlethus than has Havelok. Both are victims of their mother's adultery. Both tales have the story of the "Uriah letter." Hamlet is sent to England with engraved tablets ordering his own death. Bevis is sent as an envoy bearing a similar letter to the king of Damascus. The same motif is em-

ployed in another Anglo-Danish incident, when King Cnut is represented as ordering Godwin to Denmark with his own death warrant. Both Bevis and Hamlet exhibit a common device adopted by Northern story-tellers in England and Denmark.

These six viking sagas have been offered as specimens of the traditions fostered on British soil by Englishmen of viking blood. They are few among many. In the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth we find several waifs of Scandinavian fancy astray in the garden of Celtic lore. Two examples are the invasion by Gormund — the viking Guthrum — and the interrupted marriage of Brennius with the daughter of the king of Norway. Similarly the Northern "Erp" episode of the brother who would help brother "as the hand the foot," reappears in William of Malmesbury. Gaimar refers to a prehistoric Danish conquest of Britain, recalling Saxo and his eponymous King Dan; Cnut asserts his claims by right of his ancestor King Danes, who held Britain "in chief from God" a millennium before the Saxons obtained land there. Floating folk-tales, too, of hoary Northern lineage attached themselves now to one, now to another English hero: so the motif of bear parentage is linked to the life of Siward as well as to the legend of Hereward. In the romances, incidents recur that show Northern impress. Thus in *Guy of War-*

wick the hero's single combat with the giant Colbrand seems to symbolize the conflict of Brunanburh, while the heathen leaders "Anelaph and Gonelaph" reflect the two Olafs — Cuaran and his cousin — who led the Celto-Norwegian hosts against Athelstan. Whole romances, indeed, that we do not yet suspect, may prove to be of Northern origin. That graceful Scottish tale of chivalry, the friendship of Eger and Grime, has much of Scandinavian flavor.* In the next chapter we shall examine a distinct type of legend, relating to the Icelandic outlaws and their English cousins.

Whatever their aptitude for reflection and meditative writing, it is remarkable how little of story that is not under suspicion of Scandinavian origin the Anglo-Saxons contributed directly to their own contemporaries or handed down to Norman England.

CHAPTER XIII

Outlaw Legends

Mery it was in grene forest,
Amonge the leues grene,
Where that men walke both east and west
With bowes and arrowes kene.

Ballad of Adam Bell

THE Icelandic saga of Gísli the Outlaw * relates how once the fugitive, before dawn, came for shelter to a housewife named Thorgerda, who bade him welcome. "She was often wont to harbor outlaws, and she had an underground room. One end of it opened on the river-bank and the other below the hall. One may see the ruins of it still." Outlaws, it appears, were as common in Iceland in the tenth century and as well beloved by womankind as at a later time in Sherwood Forest in Merry England. Outlawry was a characteristic Icelandic institution, and among the most moving tales of that island of story-lore are the memoirs of its homeless heroes, a lineage extending from Gísli and Grettir down to the equally historical modern mountain-dweller celebrated in the drama *Eyvind of the Hills.*

"If any murder a man," prescribes *Gray Goose,* the old Icelandic law, "he shall be punished with

outlawry." Murder was not the only offence punished in this way. For example, if a priest forsook the church to which he was appointed, and any gave him shelter, that man was liable to outlawry. It was the severest penalty known to Icelandic law, which did not provide for public execution. An outlaw must neither be "fed nor ferried." He was excluded from Christian burial, his goods were confiscated, his children disinherited. A price was placed upon his head, and any hand might, with impunity, take his life, even in a foreign country. The word the law used to describe outlawry was *skóggangr*, "forest-going," and the criminal himself was called a "woodman," a term that would seem more appropriate in the English greenwood than in the lava fields of the Icelandic hinterland. It is indeed a heritage from a far Gothonic past.

Three among the outlaws of mediæval Iceland achieved the distinction of having sagas written about them: Hörð, Gísli, and Grettir.* The first of these represented best the robber type, chieftain of a violent band retaliating against the community that excluded him. The second is a lonely character, single-handed, driven from place to place among those who were ready to take the risk of harboring him, a dreamer and soliloquizer, a versifier of no mean skill. Gísli suffered from the law because he had acted according to the best dic-

tates of his conscience in a very complex situation: to avenge his wife's brother he slew his sister's husband. He made stout resistance whenever cornered, and at last, surrounded by those who sought his blood-money, met death like a hero. Gísli's character was noble throughout. His maxims — given him by his "better dream wife" — were good enough for any great-hearted gentleman of the forest:

> Man of noble nature, ever
> Help the weak, the halt, the blind;
> Hard the hand that opens never,
> Bright and blest the generous mind.

Gísli was under a curse, marked by ill-luck, and, before his end, was so affected by his solitary life that, like Grettir, he became afraid to be alone in the dark.

For fourteen years Gísli succeeded in living as an outlaw, and he was, in this respect, second only to Grettir, who held the record of saga times, nineteen years a woodman. Gísli was slain in 978, and Grettir the Strong was born some eighteen years later. Sentenced to three years' exile for his first manslaughter, Grettir later suffered outlawry for life for a crime of which he was guiltless. Despite his enemies and the price on his head, there was an occasional farmer or housewife ready enough to let him in, especially when they found in him a mighty

champion, eager to help them out of a difficulty. In the course of time, stories of trolls and monsters were attached to this hero, and he became in saga a specialist in exterminating evil creatures. His fight with the ghost of Glam, a very substantial spectre indeed, is a masterpiece in the uncanny. The glare of the ghost's eyes, when the moon broke through the flying clouds, made Grettir fear the dark ever after, and Glam's dying curse brought upon him a succession of miseries. Lonely and full of strange terrors were the long months which Grettir spent in Thorisdale, with the sheep and the trolls for his only comrades.

So Grettir went on till he found a dale in the jokul, long and somewhat narrow, locked up by jokuls all about, in such wise that they overhung the dale. He came down somehow, and then he saw fair hill-sides grass-grown and set with bushes. Hot springs there were therein, and it seemed to him that it was by reason of earth-fires that the ice-cliffs did not close up over the vale. A little river ran along down the dale, with level shores on either side thereof. There the sun came but seldom; but he deemed that he might scarcely tell over the sheep that were in the valley, so many there were; and far better and fatter than any he had ever seen. Now Grettir abode there, and made himself a hut of such wood as he could come by. He took of the sheep for his meat. . . . But every evening at twilight he heard someone hoot up in the valley, and then all the sheep ran together to one fold every evening. (Morris's translation.)

Year by year Grettir's friends fell away. His sentence was to have been commuted after twenty years, but in the last year, while hiding with his brother on a lonely island to the north of Iceland, he was beset by his enemies while stricken with illness, and overcome.

The marvel of the *Grettis Saga* is that, in spite of the harshness and the gloom of the hero's character, he remains admirable, even lovable, and most of all in the end. The native art which makes such an effect possible is a thing infinitely above the formulated artifices of which such an age as that of Louis Quatorze or that of Queen Anne made its boast. Gísli and Grettir were to the Icelanders sympathetic types. Unfortunate themselves, they were merciful to the unfortunate. And the saga-men who related their history have made them sympathetic to us.

The centuries that separate Grettir Asmundarson from Fjalla-Eyvindur, the two chief outlaws of ancient and modern times, supplied Iceland with many a tale of the strong but unlucky dwellers in the hidden valleys of the desolate interior. Árnason, in his collection of modern Icelandic folk-tales, gives us no less than fifty-seven stories about outlaws. They came to be a folk between man and troll, superhuman in strength, skilled in handicrafts, true to their word, extravagant like good

fairies in their gifts to the needy, but terrible when opposed. They were often endowed with magic powers and were able to produce dreams and to cast fogs and snowstorms about maidens whom they might wish to entice to them.

Three eighteenth-century outlaws, Eyvind, Halla his wife, and Arnes Pálsson, have furnished Mr. Sigurjónsson, the modern Icelandic dramatist, with the material for his powerful *Eyvind of the Hills.* All three were pardoned after twenty years, and returned to the peace and plenty of the valleys. Pálsson, who died in 1805, was the last of that lean and rugged race.*

The status of outlawry, so important among Icelandic institutions, had its counterparts among the Teutonic tribes. For instance, the term *skóggangsmaðr*, "the shaw-ganger," corresponds to the phrase *per silvas vadit* in the edicts of Chilperic. In Anglo-Saxon England the common term at first was *flíema.* But the Danish occupation, as we saw in the first chapter, brought strong Northern influences upon the legal system. Northern terms of outlawry were taken up, and we can hardly escape the conclusion that the institution itself was given a new life.

The word "outlaw" itself is directly derived from *útlagi*, the term common to all three Northern languages. It appears first about 922, and after

1000 became the standard expression. Both in England and Scandinavia, the outlaw was regarded as having the status of a wolf. In England he was said to "bear a wolf's head." For example, in the laws of Edward the Confessor we read: "Lupinum caput enim geret a die utlagaegacionis, quod ab Anglis wluesheved nominatur." And in Bracton occurs the phrase, "gerunt caput lupinum." So, too, across the North Sea, we find the same idea: "A bear and a wolf shall every outlaw be." Sigi, according to the *Völsunga Saga*, was called a wolf because he had murdered a thrall. It may be remarked that the English word for a criminal of debased type, "*niðing*," was also a Scandinavian importation.

According to Liebermann, Northern influence is apparent also in the very marked increase in the number of banishments in the reigns of Ethelred the Unready and Edward the Confessor, when many Danes held places at court. When Earl Godwin was banished, he was allowed the five days' grace in which to get out of the country which was customary in Norwegian law. Now banishment was differentiated from outlawry only by this margin of grace. If one stayed beyond that time, one became an outlaw.

We are forced to the conclusion that under the influence of Scandinavian settlers the Anglo-Saxon

practice of outlawry became far more common and took on a precision that it had previously lacked. When William the Conqueror set out to subdue England, both English and Danes were united against the invader, and when Hereward the Saxon resisted and was proclaimed an outlaw,* he numbered among his followers men with Northern names. His exploits were rehearsed throughout the marshlands of the eastern coast, and must often have been told by men of Northern blood and traditions. Thus it comes about that the first great English outlaw legend, along with some of the elements of a viking tale, contains some of the features of an outlaw saga. *Grettla* and the *Gesta Herwardi* are cognate developments.

The real Hereward was a man of Lincolnshire,† and may well have had Danish blood in his veins. Among his followers we find the Scandinavian names, Osbern, Tosti, and Turstan. Although he was defending English rights against the Normans, he welcomed the Danish fleets that came raiding over the sea. Hereward's immediate and personal aim was to harass the Normans who were settling on his lands; his ultimate political purpose was to restore to the throne the Danish heirs of Cnut.

All that we actually know of Hereward consists of a few records of land tenure in *Doomsday* and a few entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. We

learn from the latter that he sacked Peterborough in 1070, and that when all the other outlaws surrendered upon the fall of Ely in 1071, Hereward and his band kept up the struggle.

About these facts there sprang up rapidly in the fens a mushroom growth of popular story. Songs, perhaps ballads, were sung about him by the country people, as at least two chronicles testify. Perhaps the earliest fiction preserved is the two hundred and more lines of Norman French devoted to his career by Geoffrey Gaimar in his *Estorie des Engles*, written about 1150, only three quarters of a century after the hero was driven from Ely. Of somewhat later date is the Latin story of his life, *Gesta Herwardi Saxonis*, which, though full of romantic matter, professes to be based on the sober statements of Hereward's own comrades. Histories of Ely and Croyland also furnish briefer but independent testimony. From Gaimar and these three Latin sources were derived all subsequent tales about Hereward the Wake. We shall find the *Gesta* our most fruitful source.

Hereward, like Grettir, was a "terrible boy," a big bully, quite capable of conduct as outrageous as that of Grettir to his shipmates on the voyage to Norway. He was forever starting a fight or getting into trouble, and was even accused of collecting his father's rents to share with his dare-

devil playmates. Finally, at the father's request, King Edward banished him at the age of eighteen. *Unde statim agnomen exulis adeptus est.*

Like Icelandic heroes, Hereward went abroad to take service under famous chieftains and perform wondrous deeds. Like them, he had his devoted follower, Martin Lightfoot, who stuck by his side as faithfully as Geirr to Hörð's. First he took service with the thane Gisebert in Northumberland, where he performed his most celebrated youthful exploit, the slaying of the thane's great bear. Bears, as we have noted in the case of Siward, were favorite figures in Northern heroic legend. We have seen how the Celtic theme of the werewolf was in at least one instance changed in Iceland into that of the werebear. Grettir's bear has much in common with Hereward's. Gisli and Hörð have no bear-slaying to boast of, but hostile characters named Björn appear early in their stories. Gisebert's bear also is half human, an example of the Old Northern theme of sexual intimacy between bears and maidens. In fact, the *Gesta* makes no concealment of the beast's Scandinavian origin. "According to the account of the Danes," he was son of a famous bear of Norway and gifted with human intelligence and cunning. "His father is reported to have ravished a maiden in the woods and to have begotten on her Björn, king of Norway."

It was Gisebert's custom to keep savage beasts to test the mettle of his warriors. Hereward wanted to fight the big bear, but this the thane would not permit, because of his youth. One day the animal escaped and killed all who tried to capture him. The chieftain ordered him slain, but the bear ran off to attack the women in the king's chamber. Hereward met him and cut off his head with his sword. Though localized at a court instead of in the wilderness, the Hereward bear-story has its nearest analogue in that of the slaying by Böðvar Bjarki of the bear which threatened his adopted lord and the Danish court at Hleithrar. As Böðvar's deed was sung in *Bjarkamál*, so Hereward's was sung by the people. If it is not too early to begin the chronology of English and Scottish ballads, we may suppose that Hereward became a progenitor of Robin Hood in popular song, for the *Gesta* declares that "the country people extolled him for this deed, and women and girls sang about him in dances." (*Qua de re provinciales eum in laudibus praeferebant et mulieres ac puellae de eo in choris canebant.*) Service abroad, trouble with retainers, the faithful follower, and the slaying of the bear — all these points the stories of Böðvar and Hereward have in common.

The other warriors at the court became jealous of Hereward and attacked him while the thane was

absent. He therefore abandoned this service and attached himself to Alef, petty king of Cornwall. In Cornwall his chief exploit was felling a huge giant, unwelcome suitor of the king's daughter. That lady ministered to his wounds and sent him off to inform her lover, an Irish prince. While engaged in wars in Ireland, assisting this youth, he learned that the Cornish girl was about to be wedded to another. Disguised as minstrels, Hereward and three friends attended the wedding banquet, and later attacked the bridal party, slew the groom, and conveyed the princess to her rightful suitor.

Driven by storm to Flanders, Hereward assisted the count in his wars, and won for his own wife and future companion in his wild outlaw career, the noble Turfrida. The account which the *Gesta* gives of Hereward's adventures in Flanders recalls the foreign travels of heroes of Icelandic sagas, such as the doings of Grettir in Norway, and at the same time is clearly influenced by the chivalric spirit already in the air.

Hearing of the Norman invasion, Hereward crossed the channel and went secretly to Bourne, just occupied by Normans. He found them carousing in his own hall, and fell upon them, cutting them to pieces, much as Grettir in his day exterminated a hall-full of drunken bearsarks. Thus

he avenged his brother, who had been killed the day before. A band of English quickly gathered about Hereward, who was knighted by Brant, abbot of Peterborough. But he returned to Flanders for his wife.

In 1069 he arrived with her and a following in England, and was thenceforth the centre of resistance to the Normans. His headquarters on the isle of Ely in the midst of the flooded fenland became a camp of refuge for those whom the Normans had deprived of their lands or wronged in any way. In 1070 he assisted the Danish expedition in their historical attack on the Peterborough monastery, over which a Norman had been named abbot, and in the following year he successfully defended the approach to Ely against William the Conqueror.

The position of Hereward and his followers at Ely may be compared with that of Grettir on the island of Drangey, and with that of Hörð and his band of outlaws on their island off the coast of Iceland.† The method of attack employed against all these island outlaws was much the same — trickery and witchcraft. Grettir's enemies, unable to drive him from Drangey, procured the services of a witch, who sent the limb of a tree adrift to poison him. Similarly, after William's first discomfiture, when he was talking of offering peace to the Saxons, Ivo Taillebois declared that he

knew of an old woman who would be a match for all on Hereward's island. Hereward got wind of the matter, and, disguising himself as a potter, overheard the conversation with the sorceress and was ready for her. In their next attack the Normans posted the old woman on an elevation looking toward the camp of refuge, whence, as from a tripod, she uttered her incantations against the outlaws. Hereward's men, concealed in the thickets, merely set fire to the dry reeds and grass. The witch fell headlong, and all the Normans who were with her were burned or drowned.‡

When treason admitted the Normans into Ely, Hereward took to the Brunneswald, where another large following gathered to his leadership. He sacked Peterborough again, but was directed in a dream to restore the stolen treasures. For this outlaw, like Gísli, was subject to dreams, and, like Grettir, he was attended by the spirits of the wilderness, who lighted the outlaw band by night, while a white wolf served them as guide.

Hereward was at length reconciled with King William and his patrimony was restored. After Turfrida took the veil at Croyland, he married a wealthy widow and ended his days in peace. According to the Croyland account, his second wife was a Saxon lady, Ælfthryth; Turfrida's daughter married a Norman nobleman and inherited Bourne.

To Gaimar, on the other hand, we are indebted for a tragic ending, more Northern in character. The Norman barons were jealous of their old enemy. One day Hereward's sentinel fell asleep — like Grettir's man Glaum, who left the ladder down. With but one companion Hereward defended himself against a band of Norman knights. He accounted for sixteen of them before he fell, carrying himself, says Gaimar, "like a lion."

An old and popular viking trick is attributed to Hereward in a rather pro-Norman and libellous estimate of his character in the Hyde Book (written probably before 1136). He gained admission to a castle by simulating a corpse and having himself carried into the chapel for burial; then, leaping up from his bier, he made himself master of the stronghold. This is the stratagem that Dudo and others ascribe to the viking chieftain Hasting at the taking of Luna. Feigning sickness, Hasting first asked for baptism; next day his followers declared that he was dead and requested Christian burial for him. The governor and bishop had the body conducted in solemn procession to the monastery in the middle of the city, where mass was sung. Needless to say, Hasting was never interred, and the city became an easy prey for the vikings. According to Saxo, King Frodi used this device on two occasions, first when he took Plescovia, again

to capture London. Snorri credits Harald Harðráði with the same cunning scheme in taking a city in Sicily, and in the three other cases where it has been recorded, this game of possum was played by Normans or their kin.

There were other outlaws after Hereward, and some of them became the heroes of story. In the thirteenth century Fulke Fitzwarin, a Shropshire baron,* was outlawed by King John and came to be celebrated in a largely fictitious Anglo-Norman poem, later worked over in prose. A contemporary of his, Eustace the Monk,† played the pirate in the Channel and played the devil generally in the Forest of Hardelot near Boulogne, with such success that a French poem is dedicated to his adventures. Later in the century Sir William Wallace formed the heart of the resistance to Edward I's conquest of Scotland, and was outlawed officially in 1304, shortly before his capture and execution. By the middle of the fifteenth century Wallace's career had become encrusted with popular fictions, which were incorporated in an historical romance by "Blind Harry." ‡

But in these literary creations the Scandinavian outlaw tradition has become so tenuous as to be nearly imperceptible. In fact there is only an *a priori* argument for its existence. The Norman régime, so gallantly defied by Hereward, won the

day. The French connection brought with it French literature, which rapidly supplanted in favor the lingering Northern traditions. The romance of Fulke has been influenced by *Perlesvaus*, *Garin*, and the *Quatre Fils Aimon*, to mention but three French sources. Eustace the Monk, when he applies for passage to France as a minstrel, boasts that he knows songs of Agoullant and Aimon, of Blanchandin, and of Florence of Rome — a proof that the author knew these poems. Accordingly, in reading these French and Anglo-French romances one looks for sources among their French and English predecessors. Though both Grettir and Gisli made use of disguise in their bold and perilous careers, we do not think of them when we read of Eustace masquerading as a pilgrim or of Johan de Rampaign as a minstrel. Rather we think of Girard finding access as a pilgrim to Elissent or Tristan as a minstrel to Isolt. The pranks which Eustace plays through magic recall the similar merry devices of Maugis. The Scandinavian strain in Fulke and Eustace is very thin indeed. Of Wallace much the same may be said. The Scottish Lowlands in the latter half of the fifteenth century was hardly a repository of Northern traditions.

There are, however, two outlaws in English literature who can lay claim to Scandinavian descent, Gamelyn and Robin Hood. Both, so far

as we know, are without historical prototype. They seem to have been largely creations of popular tradition, and among the people the influx of French literature did not have so devastating an effect as among the baronage and bourgeoisie. Old stories lingered on. The Eastern counties showed themselves singularly tenacious of viking tales, at least in the case of Havelok. When, therefore, we find two outlaw traditions springing up among the folk in counties colonized by the Danes, it will not be without significance if we can detect some points of resemblance to the great outlaw sagas of Iceland.

There is, of course, one glaring difference. The *Tale of Gamelyn* and the *Gest of Robin Hood* are comedies: *Grettis Saga* and *Gísla Saga* are tragedies. On the one hand, are the merry archers in Lincoln green, strolling in bands through the ferny glades of Sherwood, their provender the surplus of pot-bellied abbots and a forest full of venison; on the other, the solitary fugitive, living in perpetual fear in the sunless dales and barren lavafields, with only the sheep to answer him. Both the Icelanders are slain at last. Gamelyn, on the contrary, comes into his inheritance and lives happily ever after; and if among the ballads of Robin Hood there is one tragic story, it hardly alters the jovial character of the tradition. This outstanding distinction between the English and the Icelandic products

inevitably followed from the very different conditions which prevailed in Sherwood Forest and on the *Hraun*.

The *Tale of Gamelyn* is a rattling good poem of the fourteenth century.* The hero's very name may be a Scandinavian sign: — *Gammel-ing*, "the son of the old man." In tone and style the poem resembles *Havelok*, and may well have come from Lincolnshire. Gamelyn, the youngest son of old Sir John of Boundes, performs the usual feat of strength at the outset of his career, winning the ram and the ring at a country wrestling match. After his father's death his eldest brother cheated him of his lands. With the help of Adam the spenser, Gamelyn "sprinkled holy water with an oaken sapling" on some false abbots bidden to his brother's table. Then with Adam he took to the woods, and in time became "king of outlaws."

Tho was Gamelyn crouned kyng of outlawes
And walked a while vnder woode-schawes.
The false knight his brother was sherreue and sire,
And leet his brother endite for hate and for ire.
Tho were his bonde-men sory and nothing glad,
When Gamelyn her lord wolues-heed was cryed and maad.

Gamelyn was imprisoned, but bonded by another brother, who took his place on the day of trial. Gamelyn and his men surrounded the court, and meted out to judge, sheriff, and jurymen the hang-

ing prepared for themselves. So the king of outlaws won back his lands, married, and died happily. The relish with which the poet narrates the court proceedings forms an interesting and significant parallel to the interest which the authors of *Njáls Saga* and *Grettis Saga* display in the doings of the Thing. Delight in sarcastic speech, so characteristic of the English poem, may also be a sign of kinship with the men of the North.

In the case of Robin Hood,* despite the vain attempts to make of him a manifestation of Odin, there is little palpably and exclusively Scandinavian. But, though he presents a sharp contrast to Grettir in his lightness of heart, in one respect the two are brothers. Robin Hood is the creation of a people with a keen sense of justice, who were not overmuch in awe of the sacredness of property and who saw no harm in confiscation when the property was transferred from "the idle rich" to "the deserving poor." Churchmen, sheriffs, and other exalted persons are forced to disgorge, "but look ye do no husbonde harme, that tilleth with his ploughe." So too was the *Grettis Saga* the product of a sense of justice, though it is justice baffled and defeated. Grettir, too, was the helper of the helpless. He slew the bearsark who persecuted Snækoll's daughter. When all had deserted Thorhall's haunted farm, the mysterious guest came down and offered

to lodge there and rid him of his nightly visitor. Says the sagaman, "Grettir was thought to have done great deeds for the cleansing of the land."

Though racial characteristics are nebulous things and to dogmatize in such matters would be foolish, it may be ventured that, far apart as are the Icelandic outlaws and those of Sherwood in the outward circumstances of their lives, there is in both such a vigorous sense of fair play and such a hatred of injustice that one may attribute it to a common heritage. Yet when we find in the Japanese story of the *Forty-Seven Ronins* an outlaw tale close in motivation, incident, and outcome to the Icelandic, we dare hardly claim that the kinship of Robin Hood and Grettir is more than a pleasant hypothesis.

CHAPTER XIV

Ballads

They mounted sail on Munenday morn,
  Wi a' the haste they may,
And they hae landed in Norraway,
  Upon the Wednesday.

. . . . . .

Mony was the feather bed,
  That flotterd on the faem,
And mony was the good Scots lord
  Gaed awa that neer cam hame,
And mony was the fatherless bairn
  That lay at hame greetin.

Sir Patrick Spens

A FEW pages are due the ballads.* Out of the three hundred and six English and Scottish popular ballads, according to the canon of Professor Child, the stories of no less than eighty-five, and doubtless many more, recur in Scandinavian folklore. In variety and completeness, British and Danish ballad collections eclipse those of all other lands. The folk-songs of Denmark are of surpassing beauty. These ballads were not the sole property of the peasant, but were given a finer form by gentlefolk, who, in the centuries before the Reformation, cultivated them in place of a written litera-

ture of art. Nor are the ballads of the four other Scandinavian tongues to be despised.

The British and Scandinavian ballads exhibit not only a likeness in theme, but similarities in phrase, situation, and form that seem to set them apart as a common group. To choose Norwegian examples, alliterations like "fair and fine," *fager aa fin;* "bake and brew," *baka aa bryggje;* and lines such as "light as leaf on linde," *me lindi ber lauv;* "who stood a little foreby," *han sto inkje langt ifraa*, occur repeatedly. Again, ballads with unlike themes may exhibit the same treatment: for instance, "Do you mourn for gold, brother? Or do you mourn for fee? Or do you mourn for a likesome lady?" is almost repeated in the Norwegian: *Graeter du gull, hell graeter du fe, hell graeter du for du hev lova me?* In respect to form, the use of a lyrical refrain after the first line differentiates the English and Northern ballads from the German, to which this practice is all but unknown. This is the more remarkable as Denmark has always been subject to powerful literary radiations from Germany. But her ballads seem immune. In Danish ballads the refrain is general; in the English it is frequent, being found more often in those earlier ballads which exhibit the closest sympathy in theme with the Scandinavian. The likeness is especially marked in the double refrain, or inset

burden. Even similarity of phrase may be noted in the following burdens from ballads of the same group:

In *Leesome Brand:*

He houkit a grave long, large, and wide,
The broom blooms bonnie, and so is it fair,
He buried his auld son doun by her side,
And we'll never gang up to the broom nae mair.

In *Redselille og Medelvold:*

Han grov en Grav baade dyb og bred,
Hvem plukker Løven udaf Lilientrae?
Der lagde han dennem alle ned,
Selv traeder hun Duggen af.

Here would seem to be a rich field for the comparative folklorist. Yet in not a single instance has the history of the loan or translation of a ballad from English to Danish been definitely traced. There are many obstacles to such an investigation. The first of these is the ubiquitousness of the ballad and its themes, in the folktales and romances of many lands. We may pin down a Danish ballad and an English ballad, with one or two minor additions or subtractions, to form a perfect equation, only to find that much the same thing turns up in Slavic, in Magyar, or in Italian, and is also at home in Ireland and the Orient. Narrowing the horizon, we discover that a considerable number of Danish ballads not represented at all in Great

Britain are closely paralleled in France and southern Europe.

Another difficulty is uncertainty about the internal relations among Scandinavian ballads. The collectors are not yet through with their work. The Norwegian manuscripts of Sophus Bugge, and the collection from the Færoes made by Svend Grundtvig, have yet to be edited, and with commentary comparable to the Danish edition of Grundtvig and Olrik. Folklorists have as yet had no time to group in transverse sections the six hundred odd Scandinavian popular ballads contained in about three thousand different transcripts. Owing to the better preservation of the Danish ballads, it was formerly taken for granted that Denmark was the distributing centre for the ballad impulse that reached her in whatever way, whether from England or from France direct, or from France over Germany. But some ballads are found only in Norwegian, and others, like *Ismar og Benedikt,* are surely Norwegian in origin. Four ballads cited by Professor Ker as especially exhibiting Danish-French parallels are also found in Norwegian. Questions that immediately arise are: Do the gaps in the English collection represent more than the inevitable ravages of oblivion? Is it not possible that only one stream of folksong crossed to Scandinavia, namely, over Norway, whence, like the romances, the ballads

were distributed to Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and the Færoes?

A final difficulty is the dating of the ballads. There is a truism that a popular ballad has no date. It grows up on the lips of the people, lives on with little change for centuries, written down sometimes by accident, but usually not until it is recorded by some collector. The oldest manuscript of an English ballad is the *Judas*, from the thirteenth century; there is nothing else until the fifteenth, and no collection until the Percy Folio of about 1650. In Denmark there are only a few scraps earlier than Karen Brahe's collection, of about 1550. And again, suppose that we gave an antiquity to all the English and Danish ballads of, say the thirteenth century, and proceeded to establish to our satisfaction a definite relation between two sets of ballads, is there any guarantee that the borrowing took place within this century and not at a much later date? Such are the dangers; obviously the safest course would be to take the position that ballads spring up spontaneously everywhere out of common experience and can scarcely be traced with certainty from one land to another.

It is possible, however, even in the present state of scholarship, to give a few indications in the case of individual ballads, provided we take as axiomatic some of the generally accepted theories re-

garding chronology. We are here concerned, not with ancient alliterative folk-songs, but with the *ballad proper* — the ballad in rhymed stanzas as we know it. A prelude to the ballad proper appears to have been the chanting of rhymed stanzas to the accompaniment of the dance — a fashion that grew up, it seems, in France in the Dark Ages, and was communicated forthwith to England and (probably through England) to Scandinavia. Then came, about 1200, the making of genuine narrative ballads in Britain and the North. At that time our Danish ballads about political happenings of the twelfth century were composed. Historical ballads relating to the thirteenth century were almost contemporaneous with the events. Northern scholarship ascribes the flowering season of Scandinavian balladry to the century from 1250 to 1350.

This chronology brings the best of the ballads within our period — a time which, we have seen, especially in its earlier years, offered abundant facility for transmission of any sort from England to Norway. In the latter half of the thirteenth century and the first decade of the fourteenth, Norwegians of the shop and fisher and sailor class came in large numbers to the eastern ports of England. Norwegian sailors could have picked up many a snatch of ballad on the staithes of Lynn or of St. Botolph's town, and in a language as readily

intelligible to them as a negro song to a Yankee soldier. We should expect that the first importation would be, not to Denmark but to Norway, and that Norway would act as the distributing centre. Such was the case, we have found, with the chivalric romances: Norwegian versions made in the thirteenth century were retranslated into Danish in the fourteenth. In both centuries the Danish church and court had as close relations with France as with England, but imported no romances from France direct. Historical evidence, therefore, independent of the ballads themselves, points to England rather than France as a source for the Northern ballads, and to Norway in the thirteenth century as the next stage in their distribution. Such generalizations, however, prove nothing about any individual ballad until it is made to speak for itself.

Let us take the case of *The Two Sisters*, which Professor Liestöl has subjected to a careful analysis. The earliest existing text of this ballad in England is a broadside of 1656; in Scandinavia, an Icelandic version from the same century. The large number of variants in different languages may or may not indicate much greater antiquity. The ballad is found in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Child prints twenty-one versions, Grundtvig ten. There are fourteen texts from Denmark, nine from

Sweden, sixteen from Norway, seven from the Færoes, and two from Iceland. In all the accounts, a young girl is pushed into the water by an elder sister, and drowns; her body is recovered and a harp or fiddle is made from some part of it, which speaks and reveals the crime. This agreement in plot would be proof enough of borrowing between England and Scandinavia, were analogous themes not also found in Finnish, Esthonian, and Slovak, and in folk-tales widely scattered. "Among the tales of the South African Bechuana," says Child, "there is one of a younger brother, who has been killed by an older, immediately appearing as a bird, and announcing what has occurred. The bird is twice killed, and the last time burnt and its ashes scattered to the winds, but still reappears, and proclaims that his body lies by a spring in the desert. Liebrecht has noted that the fundamental idea is found in a Chinese drama, *The Talking Dish*, said to be based on a popular tale. An innkeeper and his wife kill one of their guests for his money, and burn the body. The innkeeper collects the ashes, pounds the bones, and makes a sort of mortar and a dish. This dish speaks very distinctly, and denounces the murderers." We are not concerned, however, with the ultimate origin of the theme in the idea that murder will out. The outlying ballads exhibit a different treatment, which places them

apart from our group. Details in the Scandinavian and English documents are too clearly translations one from the other to be independent.

According to the English broadside:

There were two sisters, they went playing,
With a hie downe downe a downe-a
To see their father's ships come sayling in.
With a hy downe downe a downe-a.

And when they came unto the sea-brym,
The elder did push the younger in.

"O sister, O sister, take me by the gowne,
And drawe me up upon the dry ground."

"O sister, O sister, that may not bee,
Till salt and oatmeale grow both of a tree."

Sometymes she sanke, sometymes she swam,
Until she came unto the mill-dam.

The miller runne hastily downe the cliffe,
And up he betook her withouten her life.

What did he doe with her brest-bone?
He made him a violl to play thereupon.

What did he doe with her fingers so small?
He made him peggs to his violl withall.

What did he doe with her nose-ridge?
Unto his violl he made him a bridge.

What did he doe with her veynes so blew?
He made him strings to his violl thereto.

What did he doe with her eyes so bright?
Upon his violl he played at first sight.

What did he doe with her tongue so rough?
Unto the violl it spake enough.

What did he doe with her two shinnes?
Unto the violl they danc'd Moll Syms.

Then bespake the treble string,
"O yonder is my father the king."

Then bespake the second string,
"O yonder sitts my mother the queen."

And then bespake the strings all three,
"O yonder is my sister that drowned mee."

"Now pay the miller for his payne,
And let him bee gone in the divel's name."

The Danish ballad is thus translated by Prior:

There lived an honest man and true,
O might I follow thee!
And daughters had but only two;
So dupest thou not me!

The younger bright as is the sun,
But black as dirt the elder one.

The younger suitors came to woo,
With th' elder none would have to do.

The younger loom and shuttle plied,
The elder slept at chimney side.

The elder took her sister's hand,
"Come, let us go to yonder strand.

"To yonder strand let us repair,
"And wash ourselves so clean and fair."

As on the younger stepp'd so gay,
The wind would with her ringlets play.

The elder follow'd close behind,
And anger fill'd her sullen mind;

As on a stone the younger trod,
She thrust her into the rushing flood.

"O hear me, sister, let me live,
And thee my best gold cup I give."

"I'll get thy best gold cup, and more,
"But thou shalt never come ashore."

"O hear me, sister, let me live,
And thee my buckle of gold I give."

"Thy buckle of gold I'll have, and more,
But thou shalt never come ashore."

"O hear me, sister, let me live,
"And thee my trulove I will give."

"Thy trulove I shall get, and more,
But thou shalt never come ashore."

By God's high will a tempest blew,
And on the coast her body threw.

Two minstrels walked along the strand,
And saw the maiden float to land.

They took her golden hair so long,
And therewithal their fiddle strung.

"To yon great house we'll now repair,
Their merry wedding-feast to share."

The first string sang a doleful sound,
"The bride her younger sister drown'd."

The second string, as that they tried,
"In terror sits the youthful bride."

The third string sang beneath their bow,
"And surely now her tears will flow."

The bride stripp'd off her golden band,
And laid it on the minstrel's hand.

Tuesday began her heart to ache,
And Thursday night smoked at the stake.

From the Icelandic in Child's translation:

The first string made response:
"The bride was my sister once."

The bride on the bench, she spake:
"The harp much trouble doth make."

The second string answered the other:
"She is parting me and my lover."

Answered the bride, red as gore:
"The harp is vexing us sore."

The canny third string replied:
"I owe my death to the bride."

He made all the harp-strings clang;
The bride's heart burst with the pang.

Such close correspondence cannot be accidental, especially in minutiæ of phrase like

Den yngre sette seg paa ein stein,
Den ældre skuver a ut for mein.
(Norwegian, A 8)

and

She leaned her foot upon the stone,
But the eldest sister has tumbled her down.
(English, H 6)

The twenty-seven British and the forty-eight Scandinavian versions show many little changes and additions that cannot be exhibited here. A composite of all the British texts would resemble a composite of all the Scandinavian texts more closely than any one text in English resembles any one text in Scandinavian. On the whole, the Nor-

wegian versions are most like the British. Proof that the British ballad is the original is found in the fact that all the essential details which occur in the Scandinavian texts appear in the British, and that the Northern versions introduce obvious afterthoughts, like the emphasis on the dark aspect of the elder sister as contrasted with the fairness of the younger, who in the Norwegian versions taunts her sister: "Wash yourself as white as you may, you will never get a lover." The Scandinavian versions also add the punishment of the wicked sister, which is not mentioned in the British versions but would hardly have been dropped from all of them if it really belonged to the story.

The same comparative and analytical method might be employed with results almost as definite in the case of other English and Scandinavian ballads closely similar in theme, such as *The Bent sae Brown* (the lover is attacked and slays his sweetheart's brothers), or *Brown Robyn's Confession* (the mariner abandoned by his men to the sea is rescued by the Virgin Mary), or *Willie's Lyke-Wake* (the lover wins his bride by feigning death).

Sir Aldingar, with its theme of the queen slandered by the seneschal who puts a leper in her bed, is another ballad that is thought to have gone from England to the North. To the communities of Scandinavian descent in northern England is

credited the ballad of *Earl Brand*, composed perhaps in the twelfth century, and transmitted in due time to Scandinavia. It belongs to the Hilde or Waltharius saga (the eloping lover pursued and attacked by several warriors, whom he slays one by one), early known in England as is proved by the Anglo-Saxon poem *Waldhere*. The theme appears under various names in Scandinavian ballads: — *Ribold* is one, *Hildebrand and Hildelil* another. The English and the Scandinavian exhibit even the use of identical rhyme pairs:

Han hed hertug Hildebrand,
Kongens sön af Engeland.

"Oh did you ever hear o' brave Earl Bran?
He courted the king's daughter of fair England."

In the mysterious character "Old Carl Hood," who spies on the young people in the English ballad, we seem to have Odin (called Síðhøttr or Deephood in the Poetic Edda), in the guise of mischief-maker.* *Draumkvædet*, a Norwegian ballad of the thirteenth century, must have had a similar origin in Northumberland, to judge from its close connection with *Turkil's Vision*.† Another ballad is credited with the opposite itinerary, from Scandinavia to Great Britain. This exception, *Clerk Colvin*, is the tale of the husband who has a fatal love-affair with a *fée*. If the kernel is Breton, the theme may have travelled twice across England. As the

Færoe version is most like the Scottish, conjecture assigns the Shetland Islands as the point of contact. At all events, the Shetlands offer one striking example of a ballad where Scandinavian and English meet on common ground. This is *King Orfeo* —a theme also found somewhat disguised in Scandinavia. The ballad was written down in the nineteenth century from the singing of an old man in Unst, Shetland. The refrain is Norn:

Der lived a king inta da aste,
Scowan ürla grün.
Der lived a lady in da wast,
Whar giorten han grün oarlac.

We should be on firmer ground as to dates if we had borrowed ballads based upon some piece of written literature or an historical event. The latter class of Danish ballad deals with local happenings and does not appear to have been transmitted to England. There are many Scandinavian ballads taking their themes from Anglo-Norman romances, especially from *Tristan* and the Charlemagne cycle, but as these were put into folk-dance from the Norse translations, they do not help to date the passage of ballads from England to Norway.

There does appear to have existed in Norway, however, a group of historical ballads reflecting British-Norwegian political connections of the end of the thirteenth century. Faded reminiscences of

them still exist, represented in some cases by actual Norwegian ballads and in others by mere stumps of verse or by hearsay or in the metrical traditions of the Færoe Islands. The ballad fragment called *Heilag Kong Haakons Dauðe* gives a blurred account of Hákon's fatal expedition to Scotland in 1263 and of the death of the king, who leaves his realm to his son Magnus. In *Kongssonen av Norigsland* the king's son sends a bird to England to woo the king's daughter for him.

Høyr du de, du lisle fugl'e
hot eg be 'e deg;
du sko reise ti Engeland
å bele for meg!

She replies haughtily that if she became queen of Norway she would lay heavy taxes on the people. The bird returns in anger, with unfulfilled quest. It has been thought that this ballad refers to the unsuccessful negotiations begun in France in 1295 by the ambassador Audun Hugleiksson, for a marriage between King Erik's brother, Duke Hákon, and a French countess, but this explanation is not convincing. Audun is not mentioned in the ballad; the bird flew "to England," not to France; and we have in English history occasion enough to establish another background. Let us, rather, recall the letter of Henry III to Hákon the Old in 1259, regretting that he cannot give his daughter Beatrice

to the Norwegian crown-prince because she is already promised to another; or, in 1294, the letter of Edward I to Duke Hákon, expressing his pleasure at the news that he intends to take unto himself an English wife. Audun's connection with the French affair seems to underlie another ballad, *Audun Hestakorn*, lost in Norwegian except as a folk-tale but preserved in a Færoe form in which he is said to have wronged a lady whom he was bringing from abroad to the king. We know from history that Audun was hanged at Nordnæs early in King Hákon's reign, in 1302, for some reason not recorded. Apparently the popular imagination sought out a cause. It connected him with yet another lady, who came from Lübeck to Norway in 1300, claiming that she was that Margaret, the "Maid of Norway" and queen of Scotland, who, officially, died on the voyage out from Norway to Scotland in 1290. The false Margaret was tried, convicted, and burned at Nordnæs, near Bergen, in 1301 (the year before Audun's execution at the same place). But the superstitious populace came, within a few years, to believe in the unfortunate woman, made her a saint, went on pilgrimages to her shrine, and perpetuated her memory in a ballad of which fragments only exist in Norwegian, but which is represented by the long Færoe song of *Frúgvin Margreta*. There had been just enough

mystery about the death of the infant queen of Scotland to give room for ballad imagination: the fact was chronicled; the manner was not written in the record. According to this ballad, Margaret of Nordnæs was the real princess, sold by her followers, who, slaying her maid, had sent the corpse home to the king as the drowned body of his child. The father objects to the identification — "My daughter had yellower hair," he declares; but he is at length persuaded, for "She had been so long in the water!" After her father's death, Margaret returns to Norway, but is not recognized by her uncle King Hákon. Audun induces her foster-mother to bear false witness against her, and she is burned to death at Nordnæs. This group of ballads appears to originate from the district around Bergen in the years immediately before and after 1350.*

From Scotland we have also a ballad that reflects those days, one of the most precious of all our folk-songs, *Sir Patrick Spens*, the account of the gallant shipload of Scottish knights wrecked on the voyage home from Norway. A closer parallel in history to this ballad than any of the voyages connected with the ill-starred Maid of Norway is the fate of the Scottish ship that carried her mother Margaret to Norway in 1281 to be married to King Erik. On the return voyage most

of the Scottish noblemen were drowned, although some of their effects came to land. The marriage contract preserved in the Tower of London appears to be the worse for the sea.* Among the signers are Patrick earl of Dunbar, and Patrick his son. In some versions of the ballad the name Spens does not appear.

Whether or not this ballad describes any particular historical voyage, it reflects the unfortunate experience of many a shipload who attempted the perilous journey from Norway to Scotland. Take a passage from *Hákonar Saga* relating to the year 1232: "That same autumn the Orkneyingers fared west and all went in one ship, the best men of the Isles. That ship was lost, and all who were in her. And many men have had to atone for this later"; and again, some years after, from the same saga the description of the ill-starred return of the Prince of the Sudreys with his Norwegian bride; "Harald, the Southern Isle king, sailed in the autumn out from Bergen, and the lady Cecilia his wife. They had one great ship, and on her were many good men. They did not come to the Southern Isles that autumn, and that ship was lost, and all that were aboard her. And it is the belief of most men that they were lost south of Shetland in Dynrace (i. e. Sumborough Roost); because wreckage of the ship was thrown upon Shetland from the

south. That was thought by men the greatest scathe. And it was the greatest harm and ill-luck to the South-islanders that they lost so suddenly such a prince, when his voyage to Norway had been so lucky, for the marriage which he had made, and for other honours." *Sir Patrick Spens* is a dirge sung by the Scottish people over the closed chapter of those magnificent political adventures across the sea between Scotland and Norway in the second half of the thirteenth century.

O lang, lang may the ladies stand,
Wi thair gold kems in their hair,
Waiting for thair ain deir lords,
For they'll se thame na mair.

The inference to be drawn from the present state of our knowledge is that English ballads were carried across the North Sea by the crews of the Norwegian merchantmen who put in at English ports in large numbers in the thirteenth century and the first years of the fourteenth. If envoys and church dignitaries took over written romances and books of instruction, we can hardly expect the sailor to have escaped the infection of the unwritten refrain. Also, to some extent, the Shetlands and Orkneys may have served as an exchange for Scottish and Norse songs. Clearly the fashion of ballad-making could not have been imported to Scandinavia without the accompanying words of

the ballads, and thus there came to be translated a body of popular oral narrative. Few things indicate the kinship of Englishman and Scandinavian in a more beautiful manner than the community of feeling and theme in the songs of the people.

CHAPTER XV

The Revival

O Muse that swayest the sad Northern Song,
Thy right hand full of smiting and of wrong,
Thy left hand holding pity; and thy breast
Heaving with hope of that so certain rest:
Thou, with the grey eyes kind and unafraid;
The soft lips trembling not, though they have said
The doom of the World and those that dwell therein.

William Morris

WHILE weighing the reciprocal influences of the English and the Scandinavian mind upon each other, we have seen that, before the Norman Conquest, the North with its storied imagination was the contributor. After 1066, on the other hand, Scandinavia was a borrower from the fashionable literature of romance and chronicle that flourished under the Normans in Britain. The tide that earlier flowed south and west, henceforth set steadily north and east, and there was no significant counter current: the sagas and Eddas which expressed the sombre Northern genius made little if any contemporary impression upon English thought. Their day, however, was but postponed.

Gathering cumulative vigor from their eternal youth, at the same time that their hoary age inspired veneration, they were to come into their own when the English imagination was ripe for contemplation of antiquity and foreign story. There were two such states of romantic receptivity — the first, a prelude in the Elizabethan drama; the second, the age of "Gothic madness" in the second half of the eighteenth century.*

It is hardly necessary to relate, so familiar is the story to every student of literature, how through the intermediary of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* and of Kyd's gory tragedy, Saxo's story of Hamlet came into the hands of Shakespeare and was transformed into that subtle and baffling study of the soul of the prince of Denmark. Literary history has no more complete metamorphosis to record than the evolution of the bald outline in monkish Latin into that miracle of poetry and psychological intuition in which English drama culminates.

Neither does one need to be told of the gradually awakening interest of English antiquaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Northern history and literature, of the vogue of Mallet, of Bishop Percy's timid publication of the *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* in 1763, and of Gray's translations from the Latin which appeared as *The*

Descent of Odin and *The Fatal Sisters* in 1768. Thus Percy and Gray made the gods of Valhalla almost as respectable as the gods of Olympus.

One may allude in passing to Scott's interest in "the dark romance of those Scandinavian tales," especially manifested in *The Pirate.* And how characteristic of Borrow, the linguist and the passionate student of Old Norse literature, is this passage in *Lavengro:* — "Reader, have you ever pored days and nights over the pages of Snorro? Probably not, for he wrote in a language which few of the present day understand, and few would be tempted to read him tamed down by Latin dragomans." Carlyle, Longfellow, Matthew Arnold have each been the interpreters of the hero-tales and mythology of the North. Tennyson, too, found inspiration there. In one of the lyrics of *The Princess* there is a simple and tender echo of love agony from the Völsung Lays. Gudrun sitting stunned beside the body of Sigurd, tearless, until one of her women removed the face-cloth from her hero's face, is reproduced in the widow of "Home they brought her warrior dead." But it is William Morris who most completely assimilated the spirit of the vikings and the sagamen. Besides his many translations, he recreated the beauty and the power of the North in his masterpieces, *The Lovers of Gudrun* and *Sigurd the Volsung.**

Nor have the modern writers of the North been without influence. Andersen's *Fairy Tales* can hardly have been more familiar in Danish than in English and American nurseries. Selma Lagerlöf is one of our authors. The influence of Ibsen has been cataclysmic. His "photographic studies of vice and morbidity," as his dramas were at first styled by the English press, soon drove the romantic and goody-goody schools to the wall. And his technique has received from English and American dramatists the sincere flattery of imitation.

In the way of scholarship, much has been done to illuminate the early inter-relations of England and the North during the last seventy-five years or so. The work of Worsaae, Steenstrup, the Bugges, father and son, have added enormously to our knowledge of Anglo-Scandinavian antiquities. From the English side, the Viking Club has done a magnificent work, and Cleasby and Vigfusson have opened forever a passage to the exploration of Old Norse literature.

In American universities, Scandinavian studies have won their place. Harvard took the lead in this respect and still maintains it. Professors Longfellow, Child, Kittredge, and Schofield constitute a line of scholars that could hardly be surpassed elsewhere. Two national organizations have for their special object the promotion of mutual knowl-

edge and interest between the United States and the Scandinavian countries: the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study and the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

The histories of our school-days treated mainly of wars, and were apparently calculated to breed a national self-complacency as vicious as it is false. Popular English histories had little to record of Norseman and Dane except their ferocity and perfidy. And Danish histories have doubtless magnified certain damaging episodes in Britain's past. It has been a pleasure, therefore, to bring into relief the friendly intercourse of Englishmen and the men of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, and to tell of the yarns they swapped and of the books they exchanged centuries ago.

HYPOTHETICAL CHART OF FOREIGN ROMANCES IN SCANDINAVIA

Italics signify that the romance has been identified, and is recorded in Anglo-Norman or Modern English form; if unidentified, the Icelandic title or an English translation is given in Roman type.

P = published; O = more than one saga recension; R = exists in *rímur;* B = ballads are based on the romance.

THIRTEENTH-CENTURY IMPORTATIONS FROM ENGLAND INTO NORWAY

I. Matter of Britain

Geoffrey's *Historia* [1] (P)

Thomas: *Tristan* (1226, P, O, R, B)

Crestien: *Erec* (P)
Ivain (P, O, B)
Perceval (P)

Twenty-one Breton Lays (P): *Guigemar, Fraisne, Equitan, Bisclavret* (O), *Laüstic, Desiré, Tydorel, Chaitivel, Doon, Deus Amanz,* Gurun, *Milun, Chievrefoil,* The Strand, *Lecheor, Lanval, Yonec, Nabaret,* Ricar, Two Lovers, *Graalent*

Other Celtic Romances:
Álaflekk
Grega [2]
Grelent [3]
Guimar [3]
Harald Hringsbani (R)
Jón Leikari
Mantel Mautaillié (P, O)
Samson (P)
Skikkju Rímur (P)
Tyodel (R)

II. Matter of England

Ambrosius (Marsilius) and Rosamund [4] (P, R)

Bevis of Hampton (P, R, B)

III. Matter of France

(A) Merovingian Cycle:
Floovant (P, O, R, B)

(B) Carolingian Cycle (P, O, R, B)
Basin
Doon de la Roche (1287)
Ogier
Turpin

[1] Twelfth century, included here for completeness.
[2] MS. lost.
[3] MS. lost, possibly versions of the lays.
[4] From England but of later date.

(B) *Aspremont*
Saisnes
Otinel
Pélerinage
Roland
Moniage Guillaume
Death of Charlemagne (Vincent of Beauvais)
Roland and Ferakut

(C) Vassal Cycle:
Quatre Fils Aimon (P, O, R, B)
Laus and Geirarð (R)
Elie de Saint-Gilles (P)

IV. Matter of Antiquity
Alexander (P, O)
Rome Book (P)
Troy Book (P, O, R)

V. Byzantine Romances
Barlaam and Josaphat (P, O)
Flores and Blanchefleur (P, O, R)
Partonopeus (P, O, R)
Pamphilus and Galathea (P)

VI. Adventure
Amícus and Amilíus (P, O, R)

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY IMPORTATIONS INTO ICELAND

(ca. 1290 – ca. 1400)

(VII) Matter of Germany
Baering (P, R, B)
Blómsturvalla [1] (P, R)
John the Dreamer (P)
Konráð (P, R)
Þiðrek [2] (P, O, R, B)
Valdimar (P, R)

(V) Byzantine Romances:
Clarus [3] (P)
Filipó Rímur (P)
Gibbon (R)
Reinald and Rosa Rímur
Virgilius I (O, R)

(VI) Romances of Adventure:
Ajax I (P)
Callinus (R)
Jónatas Rímur
Klerka Rímur
Mírmann (P, R)
Perus
Polenstators Rímur
Rémund (P, R, B)
Sálus and Nikanor (P, R)
Sigurd Foot (R)
Sigurd Silent
Ulf Uggason (R)

[1] A.D. 1257, *via* Spain.
[2] Perhaps a few years before this period.
[3] To Iceland direct from France.

MATTER LARGELY BYZANTINE AND ORIENTAL (V)

Of uncertain date, containing themes transmitted by Scandinavian travelers in the East, and written in their final form in Iceland.

Adonius
Andra Rímur
Ajax the Brave II
Bellerofontus Rímur
Baldwin
Dámusti (R)
Dínus the Proud (R)
Fertram and Plato (R)
Flóres and his Sons (R)
Hektor (R)
Hermann and Jarlmann (R)
Kirjalax
Nikulás Leikari (R)
Nítida (R)
Persius Rímur
Sigurd the Jouster (R)
Sigrgarð and Valbrand (R)
Úlfar (R)
Victor and Bláus (R)
Vilhjálm Sjóð

(VIII) Matter of Russia:
Albanus
File John (P)
Hring and Tryggvi (R)
Introduction to Mágus saga (P, R, B)
Sigrgarð the Brave (P, R)
Vilmund Viðutan (P, R)

AFTER 1550

ROMANCES IN ICELAND DERIVED FROM GERMANY THROUGH DENMARK

(I) Matter of Britain:
Gabon and Vigoleis

(II) Matter of England:
Ponthus and Sidoine [1] (R)

(III B) Carolingian:
Ogier (R)
Octavian

(III C) Vassal:
Valentin and Orson [2]

(III D) Capetian:
Huon Chapet [1]

(IV) Matter of Antiquity:
Alexander

(V) Byzantine:
Ahasuerus
Apollonius (R)
Helene
Salomon and Marcoul
Seven Sages (R)
Theogenes and Chariclea

[1] From Germany to Iceland direct.

[2] From Holland to Iceland direct.

(VI) ADVENTURE:
Fortunatus (R)
Magelone (R)
Melusine

(VII) GERMAN:
Ernest and Vetzelius
Laurin

(IX) ITALIAN:
Griselda (R)
Virgilius II [1]

DANISH ROMANCES (P)

Before 1550: (verse) *Ivain*, Duke Frederick of Normandy, *Flores*, *Laurin*, *Persenober*, *Genoveva;* (prose) *Charlemagne*, *Prester John.*

After 1550: (prose) *Octavian*, *Vigoleis*, *Fortunatus*, *Griselda*, *Magelone*, *Helene*, *Melusine*, *Apollonius*, *Alexander*, *Seven Sages*, *Troy*, etc.

SWEDISH ROMANCES (P)

Before 1550: (verse) *Alexander*, *Flores*, Duke Frederick of Normandy, *Ivain*, *Nameless and Valentine*, *Paris and Vienne;* (prose) *Alexander*, *Amicus and Amilius*, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, *Dietrich*, *Troy*, *Prester John*, *Charlemagne*, *Seven Sages.*

After 1550: (prose) *Apollonius*, *Helena*, *Octavian*, *Griselda*, *Melusine*, *Fortunatus*, etc.

[1] From Holland to Iceland direct.

NOTES

NOTES

CHAPTER I

Page 3. For the facts in this chapter reference is made to the following works:

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CHAPTER II

Page 25. See, in general, A. Bugge, Nordischer Handel, in J. Hoops, Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, II, 418–439.

Page 26. For Denmark the following references are important:

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Page 27. See L. M. Larson, The Danish Kings and the English Crown (Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1910, pp. 71–81).

Page 30. Higden's Polichronicon (Rolls Series), VIII, 117.

Page 34. Froissart, ed. 1874, XVIII, 405–413. For documents see F. Schiern, Om en paatænkt Landgang i England af Kong Valdemar Atterdag (Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1858, pp. 331–371).

Page 35. For Sweden see Charter Rolls, Close Rolls, Great Rolls of the Pipe, Patent Rolls, Rymer's Fœdera; Hansisches Urkundenbuch (Halle, 1876–1896; Leipzig, 1899–1916); A. Bugge, Die Nordeuropäischen Verkehrswege (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IV, 227–277).

Page 36. *See A. Bugge, Gotlændingernes Handel paa England og Norge omkring 1360 (Historisk Tidsskrift, Christiania, 3d Series, V, 145–180).

Page 36. †This material was first prepared in 1908 on the basis of original research among the documents published by the English Public Record Office. In 1910 all mediæval documents pertaining to the relations between Norway and the British Isles were assembled and edited by Alexander Bugge in Diplomatarium Norvegicum, XIX. Professor Bugge has also illustrated the subject in several treatises. See especially his Handelen mellem England og Norge

indtil Begyndelsen av det 15de Aarhundrede (Historisk Tidsskrift, 3d Series, IV, 1–149); Norge og de Britiske Oer i Middelalderen (the same, 5th Series, II, 299–378); Studier over de Norske Byers Selvstyre og Handel, Christiania, 1899. See also B. E. Bendixen, Vareomsaetningen mellem England og Norge i Förste Halvdel av 14de Aarhundrede (Historisk Tidsskrift, 5th Series, III, 277, 444). For the Speculum Regale see Chap. IV.

Page 39. Sturlunga Saga, ed. G. Vigfusson, II, 280.

Page 40. Tristrams Saga, chap. 18.

Page 41. Orkneyinga Saga, ed. Vigfusson, chaps. 62–63; English translation ed. J. Anderson, pp. 75–76.

Page 43. *J. Langebek, Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, V, 353.

Page 43. †Sverris Saga, ed. C. R. Unger, chap. 95; transl. J. Sephton, p. 129.

Page 46. See A. Bugge, Smaa Bidrag (Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter, Christiania, 1914).

Page 47. Heimskringla, ed. F. Jónsson, III, 269 (transl. Laing); cf. Fagrskinna, ed. F. Jónsson, p. 328.

Page 51. Speculum Regale, chap. 28; The King's Mirror, transl. L. M. Larson, p. 174.

Page 52. Kunst og Kultur, 1914–1915, pp. 221–233.

Page 54. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora (Rolls Series), V, 201.

Page 55. Hákonar Saga (Rolls translation), chap. 313.

Page 56. Annals of Loch Cé (Rolls Series), I, 445.

Page 61. The voyages of Nicholas of Lynn to Norway and his book on the polar regions seem unknown until the sixteenth century. See Dict. Nat. Biog.

Page 62. See F. Bruns, Die Lübecker Bergenfahrer, Berlin, 1900.

Page 63. Norges Gamle Love, II, 276–277.

Page 64. The facts in this paragraph are found in Diplomatarium Norvegicum, XIX, 72, 86; Rotuli de Oblatis, ed. T. D. Hardy, p. 64; Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, ed. Hardy, p. 61 b; C. Parkin, County of Norfolk, VIII, 491–492. With misplaced ingenuity Professor Bugge has converted the *Synoluys flet* and *pontem Sinolphi* mentioned in Diplomatarium, XIX, 568, into a district and a bridge of St. Olaf.

Page 67. The King's Mirror, chap. 3; transl. Larson, p. 80 f.

Page 68. See pp. 241–245, below.

Page 70. Diplomatarium Norvegicum, XV, No. 1.

CHAPTER III

Page 75. For the Church in Denmark see M. C. Gertz, Knud den Helliges Martyrhistorie, Copenhagen, 1907; A. D. Jörgensen, Den Nordiske Kirkes Grundlæggelse og förste Udvikling, Copenhagen, 1874–1878; E. Jörgensen, Fremed Indflydelse under den Danske Kirkes tidligste Udvikling, Copenhagen, 1908; the same, Helgendyrkelse i Danmark, Copenhagen, 1909; H. Olrik, Ælnods Skrift om Knud den Hellige (Historisk Tidsskrift, Copenhagen, 6th Series, IV, 205–291); Steenstrup, Danmarks Riges Historie, Copenhagen, 1896–1902.

Page 83. For the Church in Sweden see A. D. Jörgensen (as in preceding note); H. Schück, Svenska Pariserstudier under Medeltiden (Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift, Stockholm, 1900, pp. 9–78, and 1902, pp. 118–177).

Page 85. This section is based upon my paper entitled The Relations of the Norwegian with the English Church, 1066–1399 (Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, XLIV, No. 20), where references to sources will be found. For the Church in Norway see also R. Keyser, Den Norske Kirkes Historie under Katholicismen, Christiania, 1856–1858; C. C. A. Lange, De Norske Klostres Historie, Christiania, 1856; P. A. Munch, Det Norske Folks Historie,

Christiania, 1852–1863; A. Taranger, Den Angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den Norske, Christiania, 1890; T. B. Willson, History of the Church and State in Norway, Westminster, 1903.

Page 87. Saga Book of the Viking Club, VIII, 136–148; Kunst og Kultur, 1911, p. 49.

Page 88. Lysa is spelled with *–a* in Latin. No Old Norse nominative is preserved, and it is uncertain whether it ended in *i* or *a*.

Page 112. For English influence on the arts see L. Dietrichson, Vore Fædres Verk, Christiania, 1906; H. Fett, Billedhuggerkunsten i Norge under Sverreæten, Christiania, 1908; A. Lindblom, Peinture Gothique en Suède et en Norvège, Stockholm, 1916.

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Page 114. G. Storm, Den Bergenske Biskop Arnes Bibiothek (Historisk Tidskrift, Christiania, 2d Series, II, 185–192).

Page 115. Passio et Miracula Beati Olaui, ed. F. Metcalfe, Oxford, 1881.

Page 119. For Denmark see E. Jörgensen, Helgendyrkelse i Danmark, Copenhagen, 1909; Vitae Sanctorum Danorum, ed. M. C. Gertz, Copenhagen, 1908–1912. For Sweden, little of note can be chronicled that is not mentioned in Chapter III.

Page 120. *See F. Jónsson, Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie, Copenhagen, 1894–1902, II, 2, 982–1008; Monumenta Historica Norvegiae, ed. G. Storm, Christiania, 1880.

Page 120. †Gammel Norsk Homiliebog, ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1862–1864.

Page 121. *Duggáls Leizla (Heilagra Manna Sögur, ed. Unger, Christiania, 1877.)

Page 121. †Barlaams og Josaphats Saga, ed. R. Keyser and C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1851.

Page 122. Speculum Regale, ed. O. Brenner, Munich, 1881; ed. G. T. Flom, (in phototypic reproduction) Urbana, 1915; translation, The King's Mirror, by L. M. Larson, New York, 1917.

Page 125. For Iceland see F. Jónsson, Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie, II, 2, 870–884, 921–959; III, 94–102.

Page 127. *See T. Frank, Classical Scholarship in Medieval Iceland (American Journal of Philology, XXX, 139–152). The Elucidarium may be found in Hauksbók, ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1892–1896, pp. 470–499. ⁋Alfræði Íslenzk is edited by K. Kålund, Copenhagen, 1908.

Page 127. †Postola Sögur, ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1874; Heilagra Manna Sögur, ed. Unger, Christiania, 1877; Biskupa Sögur, Copenhagen, 1858–1878.

Page 127. ‡Íslenzk Æventýri, ed. H. Gering, Halle, 1882–1883.

Page 128. *For St. Dunstan with translation, see Hákonar Saga, Rolls Series, Icelandic Sagas, II, IV, London, 1887, 1894. For St .Edward see Annaler för Nordisk Oldkyndighed Copenhagen, 1852, pp. 1–43. For St. Oswald see Annaler, 1854, pp. 3–91.

Page 128. †Thomas Saga Erkibyskups, ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1869; also (Rolls Series) 1875–1883, with translation.

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Page 130. Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. J. A. Giles, London, 1844; ed. San-Marte (A. Schulz), Halle, 1854. There are several translations. Cf. R. H. Fletcher, The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles ([Harvard] Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, X, Boston, 1906).

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Page 134. Breta Sögur (Hauksbók, ed. F. Jónsson, pp. 231–302).

Page 139. *See H. G. Leach, De Libello Merlini (Modern Philology, Chicago, VIII, 607–610).

Page 139. †Saxo Grammaticus, Gesta Danorum, latest edition by A. Holder, Strassburg, 1886. The first nine books are translated by O. Elton, London, 1894. See A. Olrik, Kilderne til Sakses Oldhistorie, Copenhagen, 1892–1894.

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Page 147. *Snorri Sturluson, Edda, ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1900; ed. E. Wilken, Strassburg, 1912; transl. A. G. Brodeur, New York, 1916.

Page 147. †The euhemerizing of Odin may go back to Ynglingatal. See G. Storm, Snorre Sturlasöns Historieskrivning, pp. 104–112. For Odin as a Scandinavian king, see A. Olrik, Danmarks Heltedigtning, I, 267 ff. (transl. L. M. Hollander, p. 429 ff.).

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Page 149. For the reign of Hákon the Old, see Hákonar Saga, ed. Vigfusson, Rolls Series. Cf. the notes to Chapters II and III, above. In quoting this saga, the translation in the Rolls Series, though sometimes irritating to the present writer, is used, to avoid confusion of texts.

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Page 154. *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi, 1883, pp. 110–112.

Page 154. †Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora (Rolls Series), V, 651.

Page 157. Hákonar Saga (Rolls Series), chaps. 329–330.

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Page 159. *See Chapter XIV.

Page 159. †On the *rímur*, see F. Jónsson, Litteraturs Historie; J. Thorkelsson, Om Digtningen på Island i det 15 og 16 Århundrede, Copenhagen, 1888.

Page 163. *See A. Le Roy Andrews, The Lygisögur (Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, II, 1916, pp. 255 ff).

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Page 167. See E. Thorstenberg, Duke Frederick of Normandy (Modern Philology, VII, 395–409).

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Page 169. On the Tristan story, see J. Bédier, Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas, Paris, 1902–1905; W. Golther, Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der Neuen Zeit, Leipzig, 1907; G. Schoepperle, Tristan and Isolt, A Study of the Sources of the Romance, London and Frankfurt a. M., 1913.

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Page 184. The Icelandic Tristrams Saga is edited by G. Brynjúlfsson in Annaler för Nordisk Oldkyndighed, Copenhagen, 1851, pp. 1–160. For *rímur*, see same, pp. 159–160.

Page 186. For the Grettis Saga, see Chapter XIII.

Page 190. For the Hringsbani analogue, see H. G. Leach and G. Schoepperle, Haraldssaga Hringsbana and the Tristan and Svanhild Romances (Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, II, 1916, 264 ff).

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CHAPTER VIII

Page 199. Strengleikar eða Ljóðabók, ed. R. Keyser and C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1850. For a study of the prose style of these Norwegian lays, see R. Meissner, Die Strengleikar, Halle, 1902.

Page 202. *Die Lais der Marie de France, ed. K. Warnke, second edition, Halle, 1900. See also G. Paris, Lais Inédits (Romania, VIII, 29–72). Bibliographies of texts and criticism of French and English lays will be found in Warnke's edition. See also the works cited in the notes to Chapter VI.

Page 202. †English Historical Review, 1910, pp. 303–306.

Page 210. G. L. Kittredge, Arthur and Gorlagon, ([Harvard] Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, VIII, Boston, 1903, pp. 149–275).

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Page 212. A part of the Álaflekks Saga, including the werewolf incident, was published by Jiriczek in Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, XXVI, 17 ff.; discussed by F. Jónsson, Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie, III, 114 f. and by G. L. Kittredge, Arthur and Gorlagon, pp. 255–256.

Page 213. Jóns Saga Leikara is briefly outlined by F. Jónsson, Litteraturs Historie, III, 124, and is mentioned by Meissner, Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, XLVII, 264, note 2. A few lines are printed by Jiriczek, Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, XXVI, 16–17.

Page 215. For the Northern relations of the Lai de Lanval, see W. H. Schofield, The Lays of Graelent and Lanval and the Story of Wayland (Modern Language Association Publications, XV, 121–180).

Page 223. See Romania, XXV, 508 ff.

CHAPTER IX

Page 227. For general references to texts and criticism of mediæval romances, see notes to Chapter VI.

Page 228. Erex Saga, ed. G. Cederschiöld, Copenhagen, 1880; Erec und Enide, ed. W. Foerster, 2d ed., Halle, 1909; E. Kölbing, Die Nordische Erexsaga und ihre Quelle (Germania, 1871, XVI, 381–414).

Page 229. *Ívens Saga, ed. E. Kölbing (Saga-Bibliothek, VII), Halle, 1898; Yvain, ed. W. Foerster, 4th ed., Halle, 1912.

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Page 230. For Möttuls Saga and Skikkju Rímur, see Versions Nordiques du Mantel Mautaillié, ed. G. Cederschiöld, Lund, 1877; Saga af Tristram ok Isond samt Möttuls Saga, ed. G. Brynjúlfsson, Copenhagen, 1878.

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Page 234. See Chapter VIII, note p. 212 and Index.

Page 235. For Bevers Saga, see Fornsögur Suðrlanda, ed. G. Cederschiöld, Lund, 1884, pp. 209–267; cf. Boeve de Haumtone, ed. A. Stimming, Halle, 1899.

Page 238. Karlamagnus Saga, ed. C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1860; summarized G. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 1864, pp. 89–123; 1865, pp. 1–42. See G. Paris, Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne, 2d ed., Paris, 1905; J. Bédier, Légendes Épiques, Paris, 1908–1913; G. Storm, Sagnkredsene om Karl den Store, Christiania, 1874.

Page 256. For Flóvents Saga, see Fornsögur Suðrlanda, ed. G. Cederschiöld, Lund, 1884, pp. 124–208. Cf. Floovant, ed. H. Michelant, Paris, 1858; A. Darmesteter, De Floovante, Paris, 1877.

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Page 263. *Amícus Saga ok Amilíus, ed. E. Kölbing (Germania, 1874, XIX, 184–189). The *rímur* and the French Amis e Amilun are published by E. Kölbing in his Amis and Amiloun, Heilbronn, 1884, pp. 189, 111.

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Page 265. See notes to Chapters VI and XIV. Consult also F. Jónsson, Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie, III, 102–125. Comments on the folklore elements by O. Jiriczek may be found in Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, XXVI, 3–25. Two alphabetical lists of foreign saga titles have been published: H. Einarsson, Historia Literaria Islandiae, ed. 2, Leipzig, 1786, pp. 100–108; P. E. Müller, Sagabibliothek, Copenhagen, 1820, III, 480–484.

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Page 271. The manuscripts of Dínus are as follows: — Arnamagnean Collection, Copenhagen, 184 fol., 185 fol., 575a 4to, 576c 4to; British Museum, Bank Collection, no. 6m; Bókmentafélag, Reykjavík, 116 4to, 138 4to, 201 8vo, 390 8vo; Jón Sigurðsson Collection, Reykjavík, 27 fol., 23 8vo; Royal Library, Stockholm, 1 fol., 16 4to, 31 4to.

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CHAPTER XII

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Page 317. For Ragnar Loðbrók, see Corolla Sancti Eadmundi, The Garland of Saint Edmund, ed. by Lord Francis Hervey, London, 1907; Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series), London, 1890–1896, II, 190–206; Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora (Rolls Series), 1872, I, 393–399; Roger of Wendover, Flores Historiarum, ed. H. O. Coxe, 1841, I, 303–313; J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, Normannerne, Copenhagen, 1876–1882, I, 81–127.

Page 318. Geoffrey of Wells (Hervey, Garland of Saint Edmund, p. 156). Cf. Denis Pyramus in his Life of St. Edmund:

> Lothebroc soune en engleis,
> Ruisel hainus en franceis.

The correct meaning of Loðbrók is, of course, "Shaggy-breeched."

Page 319. Roger of Wendover, translation in Hervey's Garland, pp. 171–173.

Page 320. For Siward Digri, Earl of Northumberland, see Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, ed. F. Michel, Rouen, 1836–1840; Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X, ed. R. Twysden, London, 1652, cols. 945–946; The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, London, 1908, II (Part V, Appendix), pp. 134–138; Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, ed. J. Langebek, Copenhagen, 1774, III, 287–302; Vitae Quorundam Anglo-Saxonum, ed. J. A. Giles, London, 1854, pp. 5–10. For the historical Siward, see Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum (Rolls Series), pp. 194–196; Freeman, Norman Conquest, II; Dictionary of National Biography. The summary of Siward themes in the text is abridged, sometimes with little or no change, from the writer's translation of Olrik's monograph: Siward Digri of Northumberland (Saga-Book of the Viking Club, 1910, VI, 212–237).

Page 324. See The Lay of Havelok the Dane, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2d ed. revised by K. Sisam, Oxford, 1915; H. L. D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum, I, 423 ff.; M. Deutschbein, Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands, Erster Theil, Die Wikingersagen, Cöthen, 1906, pp. 96–168; A. Bugge, Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason (Saga-Book of the Viking Club, London, 1910, VI, 257–295).

Page 328. See King Horn, ed. J. Hall, Oxford, 1901; W. H. Schofield, The Story of Horn and Rimenhild (Modern Language Association Publications, 1903, XVIII, 1–83); Ward, Catalogue of Romances, I, 447 ff.; Deutschbein, pp. 1–95.

Page 331. For Tristan, see Deutschbein, pp. 169–180; for Beves, see Deutschbein, pp. 181–213.

Page 332. The two earliest records of the disguise as a harper in England are both connected with the Danes — Alfred the Great in his visit to the Danish camp and Olaf Cuaran before the Battle of Brunanburh (William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, II, 121–131).

Page 334. For miscellaneous romances, see Deutschbein, pp. 242–254. For Eger and Grime, see the edition by Hales and Furnivall in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, London, 1867–1868.

CHAPTER XIII

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Page 336. For Hörð, see Harðar Saga ok Hólmverja, ed. Thórleifr Jónsson (Íslendinga Sögur, III), Reykjavík, 1891. For Gísli, see Gísla Saga Súrssonar, ed. F. Jónsson (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, X), Halle, 1903; The Story of Gisli the Outlaw, transl. G. W. Dasent, Edinburgh, 1866. For Grettir, see Grettis Saga Ásmundarsonar, ed. R. C. Boer, Halle, 1900; The Story of Grettir the Strong, transl. E. Magnússon and W. Morris, London, 1869.

Page 340. The play Bjærg-Ejvind og hans Hustru, first written in Danish by Jóhann Sigurjónsson, was published at Copenhagen in 1911; published in Icelandic, 1912 (Fjalla-Eyvindur); translated into English (Scandinavian Classics, VI), New York, 1916. For modern outlaws, see Jón Árnason, Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og Æfintýri, Leipzig, 1862–1874, II, 160–304; German translation by Konrad von Maurer, Isländische Volkssagen der Gegenwart, Leipzig, 1860; Íslendingur, Reykjavík, 1860–1861, I, 156–170; Huld, Reykjavík, 1890, I, 31–37; H. G. Leach, American-Scandinavian Review, November-December, 1916.

Page 342. *Historical facts about Hereward, Eustace the Monk, Fulke Fitz-Warin, and Wallace will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography. Useful summaries of

the romantic material about Hereward, Eustace, Fulke, and Robin Hood will be found in Thomas Wright's Essays on Subjects connected with the Literature of the Middle Ages, London, 1846, Vol. II.

Page 342. †For Hereward, see Gaimar, Lestorie des Engles (2 vols., Rolls Series, London, 1888–1889), lines 5457–5710; Gesta Herwardi, printed in Vol. I of the foregoing, pp. 339–404; Ingulf, Historia Croylandensis, ed. H. T. Riley, London, 1854, and ed. W. de G. Birch, Wisbech, 1883; Liber Eliensis, ed. D. J. Stewart, London, 1848, pp. 224–239; Liber Monasterii de Hyda (Rolls Series), 1866, p. 295.

Page 350. *For Fulke, see The History of Fulk Fitz-Warine, ed. T. Wright (with translation), 1855; Ralph of Coggeshall volume, Rolls Series, 1875, pp. 275–415.

Page 350. †For Eustace the Monk, see Eustache le Moine, ed. W. Foerster, Halle, 1891; L. Jordan, Quellen und Komposition von Eustache le Moine (Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen, 1904, CXIII, 66–100).

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CHAPTER XV

Page 378. The materials so meagerly sketched in this chapter have been treated by C. H. Nordby, The Influence of Old Norse Literature upon English Literature, New York, 1901, and in a distinguished monograph by F. E. Farley, Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement ([Harvard] Studies and Notes, Boston, 1903). See also Professor Kittredge's article on Gray's Knowledge of Old Norse, in Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Thomas Gray, ed. W. L. Phelps, Boston, 1894. For more recent influences see C. B. Burchardt, Norwegian Life and Literature, English Accounts and Views, especially in the 19th Century, London, 1920.

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